

The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

A Quarterly

Vol. LV, No. 1

October, 1949

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

BOX 2-W, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA • 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LONDON: MACMILLAN CO., LIMITED

* * * * *Board of Editors* * * * *

GRAY C. BOYCE

F. C. DIETZ

L. H. GIPSON

ROBERT J. KERNER

J. A. O. LARSEN

CURTIS P. NETTELS

Managing Editor

GUY STANTON FORD

Assistant Editor

CATHARINE SEYBOLD

Reviews of Books

Wolfe, THREE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION, by Isaiah Berlin (review essay) . . . 86

General History

- Bowle*, WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT, by Peter F. Drucker . . . 92
- Chevallier*, LES GRANDES OEUVRÉS POLITIQUES DE MACHIAVEL À NOS JOURS, by William Ebenstein . . . 93
- Weber*, FAREWELL TO EUROPEAN HISTORY, by Paul Schrecker . . . 95
- Kohr*, THE AMERICAN SPIRIT IN EUROPE, by Merle Curti . . . 96
- Ogburn*, TECHNOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, by John W. Oliver . . . 98
- Parkes*, A HISTORY OF PALESTINE FROM 135 A.D. TO MODERN TIMES, by Sydney H. Zebel . . . 99
- Kirk*, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST FROM THE RISE OF ISLAM TO MODERN TIMES, by Philip K. Hitti . . . 100
- Mikesell and Chenery*, ARABIAN OIL, by John A. DeNovo . . . 101
- Ward*, A HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST, by Vernon McKay . . . 102

Ancient and Medieval History

- Thomson*, HISTORY OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, by M. L. W. Laistner . . . 103
- Haarhoff*, THE STRANGER AT THE GATE, by C. A. Robinson, jr. . . . 104
- Cowell*, CICERO AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, by Antony E. Raubitschek . . . 105
- Johnson and West*, BYZANTINE EGYPT: ECONOMIC STUDIES, by A. E. R. Boak . . . 106
- Bréhier*, LE MONDE BYZANTIN, Vol. II, by A. A. Vasiliev . . . 107
- Dvornik*, THE PHOTIAN SCHISM, by Milton V. Anastos . . . 109
- Thompson*, A HISTORY OF ATILIA AND THE HUNS, by Otto Maenchen-Helfen . . . 110
- STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY PRESENTED TO FREDERICK MAURICE POWICKE, by Sidney Painter . . . 112
- Edwards*, THE ENGLISH SECULAR CATHEDRALS IN THE MIDDLE AGES, by Hilda Johnstone . . . 113

Modern European History

- Doucet*, LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE, by Beatrice Reynolds . . . 114
- Zeller*, LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE, by Owen Ulph . . . 116

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

The American Historical Association supplies THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to all its members; the Council of the Association elects the members of the Board of Editors.

Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 8 North Sixth Street, Richmond, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The price of subscription is \$5.00 a year; single numbers are sold for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for \$8.00.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW should be sent to the Managing Editor, Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C. Books for review should be sent to the same address.

COPYRIGHT 1949, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.

* * * * *Table of Contents* * * * *

Vol. LV, No. 1

October, 1949

Articles

NAPOLEON'S JOURNEY TO ELBA IN 1814

PART I. BY LAND

J. M. Thompson

1

CARL BECKER ON PROGRESS AND POWER

Leo Gershoy

22

CIPRIANO CASTRO, "MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY"

J. Fred Rippy and Clyde E. Hewitt

36

Notes and Suggestions

ANDREW JACKSON, STRIKEBREAKER

Richard B. Morris

54

THE TRIAL OF PEERS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Colin Rhys Lovell

69

A NOTE ON WORLD WAR II NAVAL RECORDS

Marshall W. Fishwick

82

Reviews of Books

(See inside cover pages)

86

Other Recent Publications

181

Historical News

260

★ **YALE** ★**NAPOLEON. FOR AND AGAINST**

by Pieter Geyl

"Both a highly astute analysis of Napoleon's character and a critique of his critics. Professor Geyl examines the French writers and historians who, in succeeding generations and in varying political climates, have sought either to build a Napoleon legend or to demolish one, and thus the book becomes, in the author's talented hands, an exciting and novel approach to the study of French thought since the First Empire."

—*New Yorker*

\$5.00

**HISTORY OF NAUGATUCK
CONNECTICUT**

by Constance McL. Green

"Most of the events which amateur historians regard as glorious become on inspection the sort of thing we Americans are in the habit of doing. Constance Green puts these average details together in such a way that the history of a small town becomes a classic of all America." *San Francisco Chronicle*

\$4.00

**THE RELATIVITY OF WAR
AND PEACE***A Study in Law, History, and Politics*

by Fritz Grob. Preface by Roscoe Pound

Deals with a problem which time and again has baffled governments, courts, and international bodies: What are war and peace from the point of view of the law? The argument is sustained throughout by referring to concrete practical cases taken from the history of the last 150 years.

\$5.00

HUMAN ACTION*A Treatise on Economics*

by Ludwig von Mises

The author of OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENT and BUREAUCRACY shows why only the free market and free enterprise can produce the outpouring of goods and services that is democratically controlled by the daily decision of buyers who prefer one product to another. It is a closely reasoned statement of scientific principles which tells of man and his wants and shows how, with certain ends in view, they may be fulfilled.

\$10.00

*At all bookstores***YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS • New Haven, Conn.**Publishers of *The Yale Review*



STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE

For American World Policy

By *SHERMAN KENT*. The former director of the O.S.S. Europe-Africa Division explains all the varied aspects of strategic intelligence . . . how it is sought, obtained, transmitted . . . and how it is evaluated as a basis for action in America's defense. "First rate. Shows how co-ordinated foreign intelligence can best serve a nation at peace no less than in wartime."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*. "Lifts intelligence out of the adolescent, cloak-and-dagger category. Seems to me to be the most important book published so far this year."—*Edward H. Dodd, Jr., Dodd, Mead & Co.* \$3.00

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY

Edited by *EDWARD MEAD EARLE*. Hailed as one of the most important books on war ever published. A magnificent panorama of military thought from Machiavelli to Hitler. "No one has thrown so much light into the shadowy history of the modern Russian army. The chapter on Hitler might have been written 50 years hence and will probably stand up then."—*Yale Review*. "This monumental work, almost an encyclopedia of military thought, is destined to exert a deep and long influence."—*Walter Lippmann.* \$3.75



At your bookstore
PRINCETON
University Press
Princeton, N. J.



A Distinguished Group of College Texts

HARPER'S HISTORICAL SERIES

Under the editorship of Guy Stanton Ford

AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY, *Sixth Edition*

By HAROLD UNDERWOOD FAULKNER\$4.75

A BRIEF SURVEY OF MEDIAEVAL EUROPE

By CARL STEPHENSON\$3.00

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1815-1939

By PAUL KNAPLUND\$4.50

ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF EUROPE, *Revised Edition*

By HERBERT HEATON\$5.00

A HISTORY OF COLONIAL
AMERICA, *Second Edition*

By OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD\$4.50

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, *Third Edition*

By WILLIAM E. LUNT\$4.50

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY: Europe from the Second to
the Sixteenth Century, *Revised Edition*

By CARL STEPHENSON\$4.50

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

By HENRY S. LUCAS\$4.50

SOURCES OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL
HISTORY

Edited by CARL STEPHENSON AND FREDERICK G.

MARCHAM\$4.50



HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS

49 East 33d Street

New York 16, N. Y.

**NEW BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST FOR
READERS OF *American Historical Review***

***THE TREE OF BATTLES OF
HONORÉ BONET***

English version and Introduction by G. W. Coopland, Emeritus professor, The University of Liverpool.

This best seller of the fourteenth century was the popular guide to medieval laws of chivalry. Here, in readable English, is the medieval point of view on such matters as ancient history, the church, how to conduct a war, heraldry, etc. An illuminating source book for students of the Middle Ages and a fine introduction to an age and its mind for the non-specialist reader.

316 pages, \$6.00

GRESHAM ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE

By Raymond de Roover, Associate Professor of Economics at Wells College.

An essay on early English mercantilism and the foreign exchange controversy, with the text of Sir Thomas Gresham's newly identified memorandum "For the Understanding of the Exchange." Edited directly from old manuscript, this is a most important addition to Elizabethan literature and history.

348 pages, 7 offset illustrations, \$6.00

***THE HOUSE OF BARING IN
AMERICAN TRADE AND FINANCE***

English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763-1861

By Ralph W. Hidy, Senior Associate in Research at the Business History Foundation, Inc.

When, why, and how Baring Brothers of London was connected with the financing of American trade and the marketing of American securities from 1763 to 1861. The book gives a broad picture of the policy, the management, and the multitudinous services of the international merchant banker. *Harvard Studies in Business History*, 14.

631 pages, 13 illustrations, \$7.50

***THE HARVARD READING LIST
IN AMERICAN HISTORY***

Edited by Kenneth B. Murdock and Others

Bibliography. 24 pages, paper covers, \$.50



HARVARD University Press

Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

"A splendid job . . ."

A Survey of WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Harry Elmer Barnes

A brilliant book prepared by one of America's most dynamic scholars, designed to meet the present college need for a challenging introduction to man's political and social institutions.

"Among the very best in intelligent emphasis, comprehensive information, good organization, and effective style."

—MARK M. HEALD, *Rutgers University*

"Received, inspected, and approved. Have ordered copies for use this semester."

—FRANCIS J. BOWMAN, *University of Southern California*

959 pages

6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$

Illustrated

\$6.50

Texts in American History

LABOR IN AMERICA: A History

By Foster Rhea Dulles. 1949. 402 pages. \$4.50

A comprehensive history of American labor tracing the organized labor movement from the earliest trade unions to the Taft-Hartley Act.

THE WEST IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By Dan E. Clark. 1937. 682 pages. \$4.00

The definitive text on the West from the times of the early explorers to the passing of the frontier.

RECENT AMERICA

By Henry Bamford Parkes. 1943. 692 pages. \$3.75

America in the first forty years of the twentieth century: the Progressive Era, the Depression, the New Deal, and two World Wars.

THE LIBERAL PRESIDENTS

By J. C. Long. 1948. 226 pages. \$3.75

A history of the American presidency showing how the great liberal presidents have been sources of change, reform, and new power.

THE SEA AND THE STATES:

A Maritime History of the American People

By Samuel W. Bryant. 1947. 598 pages. \$5.00

The history of United States ships from the earliest days to the present, illustrated with photographs.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY

432 Fourth Avenue

New York 16

TEXTBOOK NEWS

Europe Since 1914

IN ITS WORLD SURROUNDINGS 7th Edition

By F. Lee Bennis, *Indiana University*

This popular textbook has been extended to include the events of early 1949, and much of its previous contents has been rewritten with fresh evaluations in the light of recent history. Illustrations, maps and charts, as well as an annotated bibliography are features of the book. \$5.00

Environmental Foundations of European History

By Derwent Whittlesey, *Harvard University*

Providing a geographical approach to the study of European history, this text surveys the geography of Europe from earliest known times to the present. Fourteen maps are included to show the relations between the countries and the environment at different periods, as well as various natural conditions. \$2.25

Forthcoming

European History Since 1870

3rd Edition

By F. Lee Bennis, *Indiana University*

Completely reset in a new format, this edition offers a full and clear treatment of the postwar period through the summer of 1949, with a careful revision of the material in the previous edition. New maps and illustrations, and an up-to-date bibliography are included. *Ready in February*

Documents of American History

5th Edition

Edited by Henry Commager, *Columbia University*

This standard supplementary text for American History courses has been revised to include 589 documents, including The North Atlantic Treaty, which was published April 4, 1949. Some documents which have proved to be of lesser importance have been omitted, and nineteen new ones have been added. *Ready in November*

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS, INC.

35 West 32nd Street New York 1, New York

From the **GINN LIST**

CRAVEN-JOHNSON

THE UNITED STATES

Experiment in Democracy



A popular one-volume history which presents a unified picture of American democratic growth. Vivid and highly readable, it is a study of the whole of American life, showing the effect of political, economic, intellectual, and social factors on the creation and development of a new form of government. It covers the story of America from the discovery through World War II and places major emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

MARTIN

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Enlarged Edition



A well-synchronized, well-told history of the United States emphasizing the growth of democracy and nationality, the development of the West, foreign affairs, and the interplay of economic, political, social, and intellectual forces. This book covers significant events through 1946 including World War II, and postwar adjustment.

MUZZEY-KROUT

AMERICAN HISTORY FOR COLLEGES

Revised Edition



A fine picture of the development of our nation, of the emergence of the United States as a world power, and of the growth in America of representative constitutional government and recognition of the worth of the individual. Presents clearly trends and events leading to World War II.

GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON 17
DALLAS 1

NEW YORK 11
COLUMBUS 16

CHICAGO 16
SAN FRANCISCO 3

ATLANTA 3
TORONTO 5

The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LV, No. 1

October, 1949

Napoleon's Journey to Elba in 1814

Part I. By Land

J. M. THOMPSON

THE events that led to Napoleon's abdication have been described by a succession of historians in great detail; and several writers (notably Paul Gruyer, in his *Napoléon roi de l'île Elba* [Paris, 1906], and Norwood Young in his *Napoleon in Exile: Elba* [London, 1914]) have made the most of what information exists as to his residence in Elba. But the intervening episode of the ex-emperor's journey by land from Fontainebleau to Fréjus, and by sea from Fréjus to Porto Ferrajo, has been passed over with too little attention. One need only look at the histories most read today. The page that Holland Rose allows it is full of mistakes, and marred by theatricalities. Kircheisen's two pages are more detailed, but still far from complete or correct. Tarlé and Lefebvre ignore the episode altogether. Yet there are enough good authorities to make it possible to piece the story together; and it is not insignificant, either for the biography of Napoleon or for the history of contemporary opinion about him.¹

¹ The main sources of the narrative that follows are: (1) Anon., 1814, but J. B. G. Fabry, 1815, *Itinéraire de Buonaparte* (Doulevant, March 28–Fréjus, April 29) (Paris, 1814). Internal evidence

On Thursday, March 31, 1814, at eleven o'clock at night, Napoleon was at La Cour de France, a posting house at Fromenteau-Juvisy on the road between Essonnes and Villejuif, when news was brought to him of the capitulation of Paris. He wrote at once to Caulaincourt, telling him to see to the security of "our faithful subjects of the capital," to negotiate for peace, and, if necessary, to act as "administrator and commissioner" of Paris for the Allies—for he evidently assumed that both the French government and the empress had left the city. Next morning he returned to Fontainebleau, and did not leave it again until he set out on his journey to Elba three weeks later. In spite of his commission to Caulaincourt, Napoleon spent the next few days preparing to renew hostilities. Three letters to Berthier ordered military dispositions. The bulletin that he issued on April 1—the day on which the Provisional Government was constituted in Paris—announced that he intended to fight on. Troops were still mobilizing at Essonnes when he heard of his deposition on April 3. But on the fourth, in view of the proclamation of the Provisional Government on the second and the senatorial decree next day absolving Napoleon's troops from their allegiance to him, Marmont's corps capitulated, and the marshals who were still loyal to him—Ney, Macdonald, Lefebvre, and Oudinot—openly or indirectly urged him to abdicate: it was the wish, they told him, of the nation, the generals, and the army. So on April 4 he signed his first or conditional abdication in favor of his son, the King of Rome, and sent it to Paris by the hands of Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt. They arrived at Talleyrand's house, where the tsar Alexander was staying, at midnight: the offer was discussed till small hours, when Talleyrand (such is his own account) persuaded Alexander to refuse it. Next day they returned to Fontainebleau, bringing counterproposals for Napoleon's unconditional abdication; and these he agreed to accept the same night.

How these terms were drafted may be learned from a letter written by Sir Charles Stewart, the British minister to Prussia, afterwards Lord Londonderry, to his half-brother, Lord Castlereagh, and dated from Paris on

suggests that Fabry took some trouble to collect first-hand accounts of what had happened at various stopping places during the land journey. (2) Le Comte de Waldburg-Truchsess, *Nouvelle relation de l'itinéraire de Napoléon de Fontainebleau à l'île d'Elbe*, with *Suite de l'itinéraire de Napoléon d'après le récit qu'a fait lui-même le Général Köller* (French trans., Paris, 1815). Waldburg-Truchsess was the Prussian and Köller the Austrian commissioner; both accompanied Napoleon throughout the land journey. (3) Maj. Gen. Sir Neil Campbell, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba* (London, 1869). Campbell was the British commissioner, who accompanied Napoleon for part of the land journey, and all the sea journey, and stayed with him on Elba. (4) Joseph Alex. Freiherr von Helfert, *Napoleon I. Fahrt von Fontainebleau nach Elbe: Mit Benutzung der amtlichen Reiseberichte des Kaiserlich österreichischen Commissars general Köller* (Vienna, 1874). (5) Capt. Ussher (afterwards Adm. Sir Thomas), "Napoleon's Deportation to Elba," *Century Magazine*, 1893; ed. by J. Holland Rose in *Napoleon's Last Voyages* (London and New York, 1906). (6) *Undaunted*: "Captain's Log," "Ship's Log," and "Muster," Adm. 51/2932, 53/1453, and 37/5465, Public Record Office.

April 5. "I hope," he writes, "you will receive a more perfect and detailed account from Lord Cathcart than I am enabled to furnish you with, of the proceedings of last night and this day. The conferences of the Marshals with the Emperor of Russia, collectively and separately, led to the determination of offering Bonaparte the island of Elba as a retreat, with an income of six millions of livres; three millions for himself and Maria Louise, and three to be divided between his brothers and sisters. It is supposed that he is fallen so low as to accept this." But in fact the offer was more generous than Napoleon had expected, and he lost no time in accepting it. "Six millions!" he is said to have exclaimed, "that's a lot of money, considering I'm nothing now but a common soldier. I see that I must make up my mind to it"; and Ney wrote the same night to Talleyrand reporting this decision. The terms were embodied in the Treaty of Fontainebleau signed in Paris on April 11.

The whole transaction had been hurried through by Alexander, who had told Caulaincourt as early as April 2 of his intention to offer Bonaparte an asylum either in Russia, Corsica, or Elba, and who did not think it necessary to consult his allies. Their disapproval of the choice of Elba was soon expressed. "Very considerable apprehension," wrote Stewart to Lord Bathurst on the seventh, "has arisen since His Imperial Majesty made the offer of the island of Elba to Napoleon Bonaparte, as to the mischief and ultimate danger that may accrue, if he is put in possession of it: its extreme proximity to the shores of Italy; the power and influence Bonaparte still has there; the popularity of Eugene Beauharnais [whose army was still in being till the Convention of April 16]; the possible tergiversation of Murat; once more, and finally, the number of discontented French who might follow Bonaparte's fortunes to that quarter—all these and more reasonings are adduced, to throw great doubt on the policy of this arrangement." Talleyrand, representing the French Provisional Government, wrote disapprovingly on the seventh. On the twelfth the emperor Francis wrote to Metternich, "I do not approve of the choice of the Island of Elba. However if the thing cannot be prevented we must try to secure that Elba reverts to Tuscany after the death of Napoleon." On the thirteenth Castlereagh wrote to Bathurst, "I should have wished to substitute another position in lieu of Elba for the seat of Napoleon's retirement, but none having the quality of security, on which he insisted, seemed disposable to which equal objections did not occur, and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulaincourt assured me Bonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely an asylum in England."

The Treaty of Fontainebleau, to which Alexander's allies gave such grudging consent, included five articles relating to the exile at Elba. Article 3 said:

"The island of Elba, that the Emperor Napoleon [it was part of the conditions that he should retain his title, though England dissented] has chosen as his place of residence, shall form during his life-time a separate principality which he shall possess in full sovereignty and property. There shall also be granted in full property to the Emperor Napoleon an annual revenue of two million francs, in rent charge on the *grand livre* of France, of which sum one million shall go in reversion to the Empress"—for it was now clear that she would not accompany him to Elba, as he had hoped. Article 5 engaged the powers to secure the recognition of the Elban flag by the Barbary States (the importance of this will appear later). Article 15 provided that the imperial guard should supply from 1,200 to 1,500 men to escort Napoleon to Saint-Tropez, his proposed place of embarkation for Elba. Article 16 said: "There shall be provided a corvette and the necessary vessels to transport His Majesty the Emperor and his household; and the corvette shall belong in full property to His Majesty the Emperor." Finally, Article 17 said: "The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him, and to keep as his guard, 400 men—officers, noncommissioned officers, and rank and file, all volunteers."

The consideration shown to Napoleon in these terms is almost sufficient answer to the assertion, based on the story of an inexperienced valet and dramatized by Thiers (but denied alike by Maret, Caulaincourt, and the comte de Flahaut, all of whom were in his company at the time), that Napoleon on the night of April 11 or 12 tried to commit suicide. Add that, only three weeks later, when someone suggested to the emperor that if he had been in Napoleon's position he would have shot himself, the characteristically sensible reply was: "Yes, I might do that: but my well-wishers would gain nothing by it, and my evil-wishers would be only too pleased."

Having accepted the allies' conditions, Napoleon spent the next few days making plans for the future and collecting from his palaces books, pictures, statuary, wine, furniture, money, munitions, and other paraphernalia—they ultimately filled one hundred baggage-wagons. He remained at Fontainebleau with his personal suite till April 16: on that day he came under the supervision of the commissioners appointed by the allies: Baron von Köller for Austria, Count Truchsess von Waldburg (or Waldburg-Truchsess) for Prussia, Count Shuvaloff for Russia, and for England Colonel Sir Neil (or Niall) Campbell. The Russian would not live in the palace but found rooms for himself outside: the others lodged there with Napoleon and have left accounts of his demeanor and conversation: Campbell in his *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba*, Truchsess in his *Nouvelle relation de l'itinéraire de*

Napoléon, and Köller in an appendix to Truchsess' book, reprinted by Helfert.

Campbell was not Castlereagh's first choice as British commissioner. In *The Correspondence of Lord Burghersh, 1808-1840* (ed. by Rachel Weigall, London, 1912) there are three letters of Burghersh to his father which show that he was offered and refused the post. "Bonaparte," he writes on April 7, "has neither shot himself, nor asked anybody to do it for him; but I believe he will quietly go to the island of Elba." On the thirteenth he writes again: "I have seen Lord Castlereagh, who is very anxious I should undertake the duty proposed for me. It will be a curious mission to escort this great man to his grave. I have agreed to go. I will tell you when I hear further: at present the instructions are not made out." But four days later (the seventeenth) all this is changed. "Bonaparte went off, I believe [he writes] this morning. [He was expected to, but did not.] Upon consideration, I prevailed upon Lord Castlereagh to let me off the journey with him. It would have been too long, perhaps 5 or 6 weeks, and I don't think I should have gained credit, on the contrary, should have honoured the beast Napoleon too much in dancing attendance upon him. I was to have gone to the island of Elba with him. A few days would have been very well, but for so long a journey it would have been too much."

Historians cannot be too grateful that this boorish and conceited fellow preferred comfort to duty, and that Castlereagh was able to find so honorable and intelligent a substitute for him as Colonel Campbell. This officer had been recuperating in Paris since April 9 from serious wounds received at Fère-Champenoise on March 25. On the fourteenth he received a letter from Castlereagh (evidently Burghersh had refused directly he read his instructions) asking him "to accompany in a day or two the *çi-devant* Emperor from Fontainebleau to the island of Elba"; and he accepted without hesitation, partly for the chance of a holiday, and partly from the interest of the commission. His instructions reached him the next day. The four commissioners were to see Napoleon off for Elba; whether the other three went further would depend on their separate instructions; Campbell himself was to go all the way to the island; but the period of his stay there was to "depend on Bonaparte's wishes and my own management." "You will act," the instructions went on, "in entire concert with [the other commissioners] in the execution of their mission, and conduct yourself as far as circumstances will permit, with every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in that island it is the wish of H.R.H. the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection."

The commissioners took up their residence in the palace at Fontainebleau on the afternoon of April 16, and shared Napoleon's meals, and a good deal of his company and that of his suite, until his departure for Elba four days later. It had been intended to start on the morning of the seventeenth; but all kinds of difficulties arose, or were invented by Napoleon, to postpone departure. Some of these concerned the route to be followed; some the plans of the empress; and some the terms of Napoleon's possession and occupation of Elba.

The original route was to have been by Auxerre, Lyon, Grenoble, Gap, and Digne—a more easterly and hillier road than that which was in fact followed via Briare, Roanne, Lyon, Valence, and Avignon. The arguments in favor of the latter route were that it was a better road, and that, as the baggage-wagons had already started that way, it would be possible for Napoleon to change carriages, if he wished, when he caught up with them, or to get from them what further he might require for the journey. Other questions had already been settled between Bertrand and Metternich: Napoleon was to travel incognito; he was to pass the big towns by night, sleeping only at smaller places and changing horses outside the walls; and a detachment of mounted men was to convoy him as far as Briare, *i.e.*, to the frontier between the departments of Loiret and Nièvre. These precautions, it was soon seen, were very necessary, indeed inadequate; for the change of route took Napoleon through districts where he was so unpopular that his life was in danger; and when he returned the next year he was careful to choose the other road.

As for the empress, perhaps she never had firm intention of accompanying her husband to Elba. Her marriage had been one of policy, not affection. She needed little persuasion from her father, the emperor, to leave Rambouillet (where the English artist, B. R. Haydon, found her children's rocking-horse and other toys still lying about the garden some days later), and to travel to Vienna: before long she was touring the Savoyard Alps with Count Neipperg, whose mistress and wife she became. When Marie Walewska—a mistress more faithful than a wife—visited Napoleon at Elba, he did not discourage the rumor that she was the empress. He felt this desertion both as emperor and as father. "He again referred to the separation from his wife and child," says Campbell at Fontainebleau, "and the tears actually ran down his cheeks. He continued to talk in this wild and excited style, being at times greatly affected."

Napoleon's third concern was about his reception at Elba. Would it not be better to sail from Piombino than from Saint-Tropez, as was in fact contemplated in the correspondence with Metternich? Then, if there were any

opposition to his landing on the island, or if the weather made it impossible, it would be easy to return to port. More serious was the order sent by General Dupont, minister of war under the Provisional Government—that Dupont whom Napoleon had never forgiven for the disastrous defeat at Baylen—for the evacuation of the French garrison in Elba, and the dismantling of its forts. This order, brought by Caulaincourt to Fontainebleau on April 18, had to be referred back to Paris, and it was only Baron Köller's assurance that it would be canceled which induced Napoleon to start on the twentieth: the cancellation, brought by Comte Clam, caught up with him at Nevers on the twenty-second.

Finally, there was the question of transport from Saint-Tropez to Elba. Supposing the corvette provided for in the treaty failed to turn up (and Napoleon distrusted the French government), might he have the use of a British vessel? Would it not be safer, in any case, to have a British convoy? Campbell put the point to Castlereagh, and got a reply authorizing the use of a British cruiser, if one were available, either to convey or to convoy Napoleon to Elba: and this plan, as the sequel will show, was carried out.

There was, indeed, plenty to worry about; and Napoleon was not always able to master his distress. That first morning at Fontainebleau Köller saw him when he thought himself unobserved at Mass in the palace chapel, and "described him as appearing in the most perturbed and distressed state of mind—sometimes rubbing his forehead with his hands, then stuffing part of his fingers into his mouth, and gnawing the ends of them in the most agitated and excited manner." After Mass he interviewed each of the commissioners separately, paying special attention to Campbell and Köller, but showing his dislike of the Prussian representative, and suggesting that, as there were no Prussian troops in the convoy, Truchsess need not trouble to accompany him. "I saw before me," writes Campbell, "a short, active-looking man, who was rapidly pacing the length of his apartment, like some wild animal in his cell. He was dressed in an old green uniform with gold epaulets, blue pantaloons, and red top-boots; unshaven, uncombed, with the fallen particles of snuff scattered profusely upon his upper lip and breast. Upon his becoming aware of my presence, he turned quickly toward me, and saluted me with a courteous smile, evidently endeavouring to conceal his anxiety and agitation by an assumed placidity of manner." Then he talked—talking was Napoleon's happiest recreation—and in a quarter of an hour the conversation ranged from Campbell's wounds and war medals to Scotland, and Ossian, the Peninsular War, Egypt, Holland, the battle of Toulouse (April 10—the news had just arrived), Wellington and the British army (about which Napoleon was as usual complimentary), and Campbell's instructions.

To the comte de Flahaut, who saw him almost every evening, his demeanor seemed entirely calm and courageous. "I have no regrets," he said to me, "and I should have been unhappier than I am if I had had to sign a treaty depriving France of a single village she possessed at the time I swore to maintain her territory intact."

But he still could not quite reconcile himself to surrender. At ten o'clock on Wednesday, April 20, when everything was ready for the start, he sent for Köller, and said that he had decided not to go after all. The allies, by refusing to let the empress follow him, had broken their engagements, and freed him to revoke his abdication. He had received over a thousand addresses begging him to resume the government. He had only 3,000 men with him at the moment, but within a few days he would have 130,000. For two hours Köller and the other commissioners argued with him, and it was not until midday that he was persuaded to leave his room, and to descend into the courtyard of the palace, where a detachment of the Old Guard was drawn up, and the carriages were waiting to take him away. Here he made that speech to the Guard of which so many versions remain. "I have sacrificed all my rights," he told them. "I was ready to sacrifice my person. The aim of my life has always been the happiness and honor of France." With that he embraced their commanding officer, General Petit, and the regimental flag; and turned away with his hand in the air and, "Goodbye, and don't forget me!"

At last, surrounded by officers of the guard wishing him health and safety, Napoleon got into his carriage, and the cavalcade moved off. First came General Drouot and other officers in a *voiture*; then Napoleon and Bertrand in a *dormeuse de voyage*; then the commissioners, each in his own *calèche*; then Shuvaloff's aide-de-camp; and at the end more carriages containing the rest of the suite, the servants, and the baggage: fourteen vehicles in all, preceded and followed by detachments of the mounted guard. This was of course exclusive of the baggage train of one hundred wagons, which had started the night before, and of the body of guards destined for the defense of Elba—715 men, 127 horses, and 18 carriages (considerably more than allowed by the treaty)—which was already a week on its way to Piombino. Such was Napoleon's army of occupation for his new kingdom.

The first stop was at Montargis, about twenty-five miles from Fontainebleau, at four P.M. Here the National Guard turned out, but there were no demonstrations. Bonaparte, says Fabry, whose account seems to have been based on pretty careful inquiries made at the chief stopping-places along the route, "passed between a double line of these *braves* with a pretense of calm,

saluting to right and left spectators at the windows, whom curiosity had brought there to see him." The first night was spent at Briare, about twenty-five miles further on, at a château (Campbell calls it a large hotel) where Napoleon conversed with the mayor. From this point, in order to make it easier to arrange relays of horses, the cavalcade divided into two parts, five carriages going ahead, and four, including Napoleon's, following a stage or two behind them.

On Thursday, April 21, after starting from Briare at midday, Napoleon reached Nevers, after another uneventful journey of fifty miles, and spent the second night there. Before starting (the delay was due to the splitting of the convoy) he had a long talk with Köller, in the course of which he referred to his address to the guard the day before, and remarked, "That's the way one ought to talk to them, and treat them: unless Louis XVIII follows my example he will make nothing of the French soldier." Campbell also records a conversation at *déjeuner*, during which he happened to mention that Sir Sydney Smith, Napoleon's old enemy at Toulon and Acre, held a naval command in the Mediterranean: "he seemed to be moved by this"; and there was to be a sequel.

At Nevers Napoleon sent for the prefect but was told that he was away. The mayor and the *chef de la gendarmerie* were then summoned. Before appearing they consulted the commissioners as to Napoleon's status and were told that he *était toujours souverain, quoiqu'il ne le fût plus de la France*. While Napoleon questioned the mayor about municipal matters the *chef* stood silent, till he heard a noise outside the window and cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* "What was that?" asked Napoleon. "It's nothing," he replied; "only the rabble [*la canaille*]." By a curious coincidence another fugitive was at Nevers that same night. Thibaudeau records in his memoirs that, flying from Marseille via Nîmes, he reached Nevers at midnight and put up, unknowing, at another inn. When he heard of the emperor's presence he didn't go to see him, not knowing what to say to him; but he was at his inn door as Napoleon drove off next morning: "He passed in front of my inn; I was at the door and saw him in his carriage. The townspeople cried *Vive l'Empereur!* He had a serious, not to say severe air, and appeared not to look at anyone." So he might; for Thibaudeau goes on to say that no doubt the Paris royalists had planned to assassinate him en route: though Napoleon himself argued that the popular demonstrations showed a change of opinion in his favor since his abdication: "I'm not so hated [he said] as the papers make out."

This was at six or seven A.M. on Friday, April 22. The mounted guard

which had hitherto accompanied Napoleon did not go beyond Villeneuve-sur-Allier, the boundary of the Nièvre department; and there the *sous-préfet* Dupeloux also took leave of him. From this point the duty of escort was to have been taken over by Austrian and Russian troops; but Napoleon refused their protection, saying, "You can see quite well I have no need of them." He was soon to regret this confidence. At eleven o'clock they arrived at Moulins, about twenty-five miles beyond Nevers. Here his carriage was soon surrounded by a crowd of working-class people wearing white cockades. "Salute the Emperor," said some of his escort to the crowd; and a few cried *Vive l'Empereur!* "Why," the men said again, "they shout *Vive l'Empereur*, yet they wear the King's cockade!" "Very well," replied the spectators, "if that doesn't satisfy you, *Vive le Roi Louis XVIII!*"

At midnight they reached Roanne, and stayed till late the next morning. This place was only a few miles from Pradines, a nunnery founded by Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, who was staying there at the moment with Napoleon's mother, to break their journey to Genoa. Hearing that he was on the road they sent a M. Jacquemont, an ex-Carthusian monk, now steward of the household, to see him. Napoleon, it is said, heard their message with indifference, merely inquiring about their route. He then sent for the mayor, questioned him about the town, and remarked, "If I hadn't been betrayed fourteen times a day, I should still be on the throne."

The next important center was Lyon, fifty-four miles beyond Roanne. Napoleon stopped for supper at the posting inn at Latour, five miles short of the city. Dining alone, and at his usual speed, he was finished long before the commissioners, and went for a stroll along the road. "It was nine o'clock in the evening, but beautiful weather. The *curé* of Dardilly-Latour, M. Tillon, followed him, to get a sight of him, and walking rapidly overtook him, in the hope that Napoleon would say something to him. And so it happened.

"Are you a priest?" he asked in a rather formidable tone.

"Yes, Sire, I am the *curé* of Dardilly."

"Has your parish suffered [during the war]?"

"Yes, Sire, it has been overburdened by requisitioning."

"That is an inevitable result of war. *M. le Curé*," he went on, looking up at the sky, "there was a time when I knew the names of the stars, but now I have forgotten them all. Can you tell me what that one is?"

"I have never known, Sire." And that was the end of the conversation.

At ten or eleven o'clock the same night, Saturday the twenty-third, they arrived at Lyon. Here, according to one account, they were escorted through the city by the Austrian garrison under the Erbprinz von Hessen-Homburg;

according to another it had disbanded for the night and did not hear of Napoleon's passage till next day. Anyhow, the city was passed at night, according to plan; and there seems to have been no demonstration beyond a few cries of *Vive Napoléon!* from scattered groups of people. They left the city by the Rhône bridge at La Guillotière, and traveled on toward Vienne. This night Napoleon slept in his carriage.

Vienne too was passed during the night, and the next stop was for *déjeuner* on Sunday morning, the twenty-fourth, at Le Péage, the toll-gate inn at Rousillon, a small village twenty-five miles beyond Lyon. Here—it is Fabry's account, perhaps gathered on the spot—

a crowd collected in front of the inn at which he had stopped, and the ex-emperor appeared at the window, and harangued the people. He declared that he had given up his throne without regret, because he could no longer bring happiness to Frenchmen. The happiness of his peoples had always been the object of his most ardent desires, and he had conceived great designs to secure it; but the treachery of his enemies had prevented his carrying them out. This mountebankery [*scène de trétaux*, Fabry calls it] had its effect on the crowd, and cries of *Vive l'Empereur* consoled the fugitive hero.

Napoleon also had his usual talk with the mayor, and got the same answer as at Latour to his question about requisitioning. He inquired too for news about the southern army (*armée du midi*), with which he had lost touch since the fall of Lyon on March 20, and as to the whereabouts of its commander, Augereau, who, he learned, had retreated behind the Isère. They were in fact to meet the same day.

During the halt at Roanne on the night of Friday the twenty-second it had been determined that Campbell should go ahead, armed with Castle-reagh's instructions, and inquire at Marseille or Toulon for a British frigate to escort Napoleon to Elba. This plan was put into execution. Traveling some way in advance of Napoleon (he was two hours ahead at Avignon), Campbell met Augereau near Valence early on Sunday the twenty-fourth, and told him of the emperor's approach. "He appeared to be disconcerted," says Campbell, "thinking that Napoleon was to pursue the other road by Grenoble. He abused Napoleon's ambition and waste of blood for personal vanity. He [Napoleon] did not show himself at last, as he ought to have done, and as many expected." "He's a coward!" he exclaimed; "I always thought him so. He ought to have marched on a battery, and got himself killed." Augereau showed Campbell that he had taken off all his orders, except the red ribbon of the Legion of Honor. He ended by saying that "if Napoleon gave him the opportunity he would give him a piece of his mind."

That morning, the twenty-fourth, Augereau took the precaution of mov-

ing most of his troops, whom he did not trust to share his defection, onto the opposite bank of the Rhône, leaving only a detachment of Austrian *chasseurs* to guard the passage of the convoy. At midday he recrossed the Isère where it flows into the Rhône four miles above Valence—the bridge had been destroyed during his retreat, and there was a crowd of traffic waiting to ferry over—and awaited Napoleon's arrival on the far bank. Whatever he said to Campbell, he may well have felt some nervousness about the coming interview. Upon hearing of the emperor's deposition on April 2 he had drawn up a proclamation to his troops, welcoming the end of the "tyrannical yoke" of Napoleon, releasing the army from its allegiance to "a man who, after immolating millions of victims to his cruel ambition, did not know how to die as a soldier," and appealing for their loyalty to Louis XVIII: "Let us hoist the genuinely French flag, and banish every symbol of a revolution which has now been abolished." Napoleon had a copy of this proclamation in his pocket when he landed from the *petite baraque* which was all he could find to carry him across the Isère. He "took off his hat and held out his arms to Augereau, who embraced him, but did not kiss him" (the account is from Truchsess, and has every mark of being eyewitness). "Where are you off to?" asked the emperor, taking his arm. "Are you going to court?" Augereau replied that at the moment he was going to Lyon. They walked together for nearly a quarter of an hour, following the road towards Valence. Napoleon criticized the wording of Augereau's proclamation but did not deny that the army must now owe allegiance to the new government. However, when Augereau began "thee-and-thouing" him, and reproaching him with his ambition (here Fabry supplies a dialogue which reads like a later dramatization of Augereau's story),

Napoleon got tired of his talk, turned brusquely towards the marshal, embraced him, took off his hat, and jumped into his carriage. Augereau, with his hands behind his back, did not remove his cap from his head, and when the emperor had got into his carriage only made a contemptuous gesture with his hand by way of goodbye; but as he turned away he saluted the commissioners most politely.

At six o'clock the same evening Napoleon arrived at Montélimart, having traveled sixty-five miles during the day.

He had been preceded [says Fabry] by a number of couriers, whose arrival had given warning of his coming, and had attracted a crowd to the posting inn where he was expected. A number of people got into the inn, and spread themselves on the stairs by which Bonaparte would have to pass; an even larger number remained outside. Napoleon got out of his carriage so quickly that he escaped the curiosity of the crowd outside; but that which he found inside forced him to slacken his

pace. He passed through the double row which had formed in the passages and on the staircases confidently enough, carrying his hat, and smilingly saluting everybody.

Once in his room, he sent for the *sous-préfet*, and meanwhile talked to some *employés* of the local taxation and forestry administrations, making particular inquiries as to whether many white cockades were worn in the town and what was thought of him there. He may have heard that the *préfet* (as Fabry reports) had refused to proclaim Louis XVIII until forced to do so by Augereau only a week before his arrival. At nine o'clock he started off again "accompanied by some cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* from his adherents"—cries which a few of those whom Fabry calls *honnêtes gens* tried to drown with shouts of *Vive le Roi!*

By this time Napoleon was evidently becoming aware of the danger of hostile demonstrations. The cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* had almost ceased since the French escort dropped back at Villeneuve. At Moulins there had been cries of *Vivent les Alliés!* Lyon and Vienne had been passed by night. Valence was under the control of Augereau. At Montélimart allegiance had been divided. As Napoleon entered Provence and traveled farther south, he would come into districts which had suffered even more seriously from the depredations of the *armée du midi*, without profiting, as the Lyon manufacturing district had, from the economic policy of the empire. It was soon evident to what lengths this hostility might go. At Donzière, ten miles beyond Montélimart, where the carriages arrived at eleven o'clock the same night, "the inhabitants were celebrating a fete in honor of the Restoration. The streets were illuminated, the people were dancing *farandoles*, and joy was in every heart. In their drunken excitement the inhabitants got in front of Napoleon's carriage to stop his advance, and he had to listen to cries of *Vivent les Bourbons! Vive Louis XVIII! A bas le Tyran! A bas le boucher de nos enfans!*" It is said (adds Fabry) that Bonaparte, indignant at such audacity, asked what was the name of the commune, and had a note made of it. At Orange again, twenty-five miles farther south, there were cries of *Vive le Roi!* and *Vive Louis XVIII!*

It must have been with considerable anxiety that Napoleon approached Avignon early the next morning (Monday, April 25), after sleeping in his carriage. Fortunately Campbell had passed through the town two hours before, and had had a talk with the *officier de garde*, who inquired whether Napoleon's escort was strong enough to prevent a popular movement; and he was so impressed by this warning that he had begged the officer to take every step he could to protect the emperor's passage, emphasizing the re-

sponsibility of the commissioners for his safety. The best description of what followed is Fabry's, probably taken from the officer himself:

Bonaparte's carriage arrived two hours afterwards. Owing to information received, the convoy halted at the end of the town opposite to that at which it would naturally have done so. The post-horses had been taken there, and the officer who had spoken to the English commissioner was there with his troop. He found the carriage surrounded by a crowd which gradually increased, and was beginning to get out of hand. One man was already putting his hand on the door handle; and one of Napoleon's servants sitting on the box was drawing his sword to defend his master. "Don't move, you fool!" cried the officer; and while speaking he pulled back the man who was holding on to the door. Bonaparte, hurriedly letting down the front window, called three times to his servant to control himself, and made a sign of thanks to the officer. During this incident the crowd had recognized Bonaparte, and seemed to get all the more excited. At last the officer succeeded, with the help of his men, in freeing the wheels, and ordered the postilion to start off at full gallop. Bonaparte had only time to shout, *Bien obligé*.

He was pursued, Truchsess adds, by cries of *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Alliés! À bas Nicolas!* (our "Old Nick," a popular name for the Devil) *À bas le Tyran, le coquin, le mauvais gueux!* It had been a narrow escape.

Even worse experiences awaited Napoleon at Orgon, fifteen miles beyond Avignon, where he arrived at eight A.M. News of his coming had got about, and "the inhabitants [says Fabry] came in crowds to meet him, headed by a *bourgeois de la ville* named Durel, and dragging behind them a stuffed figure of Bonaparte's size in a French uniform. When they came opposite the carriage they forced it to stop, hoisted the mannequin up on a tree, and made the ex-emperor see himself hanged and shot in effigy." For what happened afterwards Fabry is able to quote verbatim the diary of the abbé Ferruggi, secretary to Cardinal Gabrielli, who happened to be staying at the *auberge* at Orgon for the night preceding Napoleon's arrival, and who wrote it down at the time.

Orgon, 25 April. There took place before my eyes today a scene as unexpected as it was worthy of attention. The ex-emperor Napoleon passes through the place incognito with three carriages at eight A.M.: other carriages had preceded him. The people, who notice everything, run together. Napoleon was to have stopped for *dejeuner*, but couldn't. They all shouted *Mort au Tyran! Vive le Roi!* They burned an effigy of him in his presence, and showed him others which had been disemboweled with sword-cuts and colored with blood. Some of them climbed onto his carriage, and shook their fists at him, crying *Meurs, Tyran!* Some women armed with stones cry, Give me back my son! Other women shouted, Say *Vive le Roi*, tyrant! and he said it, though some of his people refused.

There is no need to quote the moral reflections with which the abbé's story ends. Napoleon was certainly frightened. Truchsess says, "The emperor hid

himself as well as he could behind General Bertrand: he was pale, desperate, and speechless."

Only a quarter of an hour after leaving Orgon the travelers met a man riding in the opposite direction who told them of the bad state of opinion at Marseille, Aix, and Lambesc; that agitators from Paris were at work; and that a number of people had taken an oath that Napoleon should not leave France alive. Coming upon the top of his experience at Orgon, this so alarmed Napoleon that he determined to disguise himself. "He borrowed the uniform of an Austrian officer—a shabby blue riding-coat [*redingote*] and a round hat with a white cockade—mounted one of the post-horses [*un bidet*, i.e., a small saddle-horse], and galloped on ahead of his carriage, accompanied only by a courier named Pélart." In this disguise he galloped ahead through Saint-Cannat and Lambesc, "where about thirty people were waiting for him," till "he found himself unexpectedly on a hill within sight of Aix." Then, as he seemed to have got too far ahead of the convoy, he returned "a French mile" to La Calade, five miles short of the town, where he entered the inn named La Cannatière, passed himself off as Colonel Campbell, and ordered dinner for the emperor and his staff. The landlady (the story goes) replied that she wasn't going to put herself out to provide dinner for a monster like that; at the same time she overwhelmed the supposed officer with questions about Bonaparte, and inquired at what time he would be passing: she would be ready, she said, to see him burned alive for all his crimes and bloodshed. If that cursed man reached Saint-Tropez with a whole skin, she advised the colonel not to go on board ship with him, for she hoped they would find a way of drowning him in the sea—*Oh sans doute!*—and *Sans doute!* agreed the false Sir Neil. Helfert, who gives some of these details, adds that when Napoleon was left alone with Pélart he fell asleep on his shoulder, not having closed his eyes for two days, and when he woke up said, half to himself:

I shall renounce politics forever, and concern myself no more with affairs. I shall be happy at Porto-Ferrajo [in Elba]—happier than I have ever been: I shall devote myself to learning; and if they beg me to accept the crown of Europe, I have no more desire for it. You have seen what the People is like. I have been quite right to despise them. Is this France? What gratitude! I am disgusted with ambition: I shall let it rule me no more.

Meanwhile Bertrand and a courier named Vernet, who had taken Napoleon's seat in his carriage, had unpleasant experiences at Lambesc and Saint-Cannat. Though all the party, from general to kitchen boy, sported white cockades, they were surrounded by angry crowds, and stones were

thrown: the carriage arrived at La Calade with its windows broken. The commissioners, traveling separately, did not know, till they arrived at the inn, that Napoleon had disguised himself. They were met by Pélart, who begged them to pretend that the emperor was Colonel Campbell.

We promised [says Truchsess] to fall in with this wish, and I led the way into a sort of private room, where we were astonished to find the ex-ruler of the world with his head resting on his hands, plunged in deep reflection. At first I did not recognize him, and advanced towards him. When he heard my step he jumped up, and I saw that his face was wet with tears. He signed to me not to speak, but made me sit by him, and, as long as the landlady was in the room, talked of matters of no consequence: but when she went out he resumed his previous attitude. I thought it more tactful to leave him to himself: but he asked us to pass in and out of his room occasionally, so that it might not be suspected who he was.

Both Fabry and Truchsess are agreed that Napoleon refused to touch the food prepared for him at the inn, because he was afraid of being poisoned, and that he sent for a little bread and a bottle of wine from his carriage. "When we were alone [says Truchsess] he told us he feared his life was in danger. He was convinced that the French government had made plans to kidnap or assassinate him here." The landlady, he said, had hinted that there was a plot to drown him during the passage to Elba. This not only strengthened his objection to crossing in a French vessel: it also led him to suggest going back on the road as far as Lyon, and taking the route to Italy and an Italian port (the original plan) instead. When he had been dissuaded from this idea, he asked whether there was any back door or window by which he might escape in case of need. When it was discovered that the window was barred "he trembled at the least sound, and changed color." Köller wrote to Metternich in much the same strain, saying that it would be tedious to tell the whole story of Napoleon's fears and precautions.

By this time the whole inn was full of people, most of whom had come out from Aix, on the rumor of Napoleon's presence, and would not believe the commissioners' story that he had gone on ahead. They said they only wanted to see him, and tell him what they thought of him. However by midnight most of this crowd had dispersed; and "an individual who seemed to the commissioners to be a person of some importance" undertook to carry a message to the mayor of Aix, asking for protection while going through the town. The commissioners seem to have taken the opportunity to send an "open order" to the mayors of other towns on the route, complaining of the treatment received since entering Provence, and asking for precautions to be taken during the rest of the journey.

Even now Napoleon insisted upon fresh precautions. He made Shuval-

off's aide-de-camp put on the uniform the Russian commissioner had been wearing, and himself put on that of Baron Köller, with the order of St. Theresa on his breast, Shuvaloff's cloak thrown around him, and Truchsess' traveling cap on his head; and he adopted the name of Lord Burghersh, which he had learned from Castlereagh. Drouot headed the procession from the inn; then came the aide as Napoleon, then Köller, Napoleon, Shuvaloff, and Truchsess, in that order. And so they got through without incident, though the crowd peered in their faces to see if any of them resembled the head on the five-franc pieces some of them had in their hands. The aide, Major Olewieff, now took Napoleon's place in his carriage, and the emperor traveled with Köller in his *calèche*. To complete the deception, Napoleon, now in better spirits, told their coachman to smoke, and Köller to sing. When Köller protested that he couldn't sing, "Well, then, whistle," he said. And so, says Truchsess, they traveled on, "Napoleon hidden in a corner of the *calèche*, pretending to be asleep, lulled by the pleasant sounds coming from the general, and censed by the coachman's tobacco smoke."

Truchsess adds to his account "as a historian" a curious detail which he can hardly have invented: he says that while they were with him at the inn Napoleon applied to himself, without any concealment, remedies appropriate to an attack of venereal disease (*une maladie galante*) which he said his doctor told him he had picked up during his last visit to Paris.

Soon after Napoleon had left La Calade—it was now 12:30 A.M. on Tuesday, April 26—he was met by the *sous-préfet* of the department of Bouches du Rhône, whose headquarters were at Aix, and a detachment of mounted gendarmes: this was no doubt in answer to the message sent earlier in the night. The *sous-préfet* first approached the carriage containing Bertrand and one of the commissioners, who complained of the treatment they had received in Provence, and expressed fears about the rest of the journey. They made careful note of the precautions he had taken for their passage through, or rather around, Aix, and begged him not to leave them unguarded. Accordingly he followed the cavalcade. At two A.M. they arrived at the gates of Aix. Here, "after changing horses, Bonaparte continued his journey, passing under the walls of the town amidst repeated cries of *Vive le Roi!* from the inhabitants, who ran onto the walls. The people of the suburbs accompanied him with the same cries. Only the mistral which was blowing strongly all the time, and the darkness of the night, prevented more serious incidents."

Two hours later—it was now four A.M.—they arrived at Saint-Maximin, twenty miles beyond Aix, and stopped for *déjeuner* at the La Grande Pugère inn; owing to the troubles en route they had had no proper meal since Avi-

gnon, nearly twenty-four hours before. The *sous-préfet*, having brought them to the frontier of his department—indeed some miles beyond it—now said that he must return to Aix. Bertrand asked him first to come upstairs to the commissioners' room, where the whole party was at *déjeuner*. The account that follows must almost certainly have been given to Fabry by the man himself. "There were," he said, "ten or twelve persons there, including Napoleon, who was dressed in his Austrian uniform with a cap [*casquette*] on his head." Seeing the *sous-préfet* listening, Napoleon said to him:

You wouldn't have recognized me in this costume? It was these gentlemen [pointing to the commissioners] who made me put it on, thinking it necessary for my safety. I might have had an escort of 3,000 men: but I refused it, preferring to trust myself to French loyalty. I had nothing to complain of in this respect between Fontainebleau and Avignon; but from that town to this place I have been insulted, and have experienced many dangers. The people of Provence are disgracing themselves. Never since I have been in France have I had a good battalion of Provençal troops under my command: they can shout, but they're good for nothing else. The Gascons are boasters, but they are brave.

At this remark one of the guests, doubtless a Gascon, struck an attitude, and said with a smile, "I can appreciate that." Bonaparte went on speaking to the *sous-préfet*, and asked about the *préfet* (Thibaudeau) and his wife. "Do people pay the *octrois*," he asked, "and the *droits réunis*? Are there many English people at Marseille?" And he was not pleased to hear how the English had been welcomed there (the news of Captain Ussher's arrival there the day before, of which we shall hear shortly, was evidently known to the *sous-préfet*): indeed, he interrupted him, saying, "Tell your Provençaux that the emperor is very displeased with them." The conversation, which the *sous-préfet* described as "half serious, half joking, and shared sometimes by Napoleon's guests," was broken off when Bertrand said that it was time for them to start: they had in fact some thirty miles still to go before they could reach Le Luc, their stopping-place for the night.

Bonaparte threw his napkin onto the table, and rose, saying, "I'm ready." He asked the *sous-préfet* that the gendarmes might accompany him as far as Saint-Maximin [this must be a mistake for Brignoles]. "It's a town of 2,000 souls," he said, "and we must avoid any more of this brawling [*criailleries*]." Bertrand objected that the horses must be tired. "Horses can do eighteen or twenty leagues a day," replied Napoleon; and the *sous-préfet* agreed that they should carry on.

Thus it was that beyond Saint-Maximin (as Helfert reports) "a French officer, a Corsican by birth, rode on the right side of Köller's *calèche*, and talked to Napoleon in terms which showed that he knew he was the emperor."

Between Tourves and Brignoles "they met a crowd of people who came

together from the neighboring *communes*, and there was fear of a renewal of the scenes at Orgon." Bonaparte's alarm justified the presence of the gendarmes. There was an hour's delay outside Brignoles, probably to enable arrangements to be made with the mayor for a safe passage through the town: and it was hereabouts that Comte Clam met the party with the news that Pauline Bonaparte was staying near Le Luc, and that two squadrons of Austrian hussars were stationed there: orders were accordingly sent that they should convoy Napoleon from Le Luc to Fréjus. For it had now been decided that the port of embarkation should be Fréjus, not Saint-Tropez.

How had this change of plans come about? Campbell, going ahead from Roanne on the night of April 22, passed through Avignon the following night, met Augereau near Valence early on the twenty-fourth, and then presumably took the route to Marseille via Sénas and Salon (which was some ten miles shorter than that via Aix). At Marseille he found the *Undaunted*, Captain Ussher, and ordered her to sail for Saint-Tropez next day, the twenty-fifth. The same day he returned by the direct road to Aix, which he presumably reached some hours after Napoleon had left, and followed him along the road to Brignoles and Le Luc. All he now tells us of his movements is that he reached Fréjus at seven A.M. on the twenty-seventh; but somewhere on the route between Aix and Fréjus he must have caught up with Napoleon's party, and the change of plans must have been made, because when Ussher reached Saint-Tropez at eight A.M. on the twenty-seventh he received a message altering the rendezvous to Fréjus. The fact that the *sous-préfet* heard of Ussher's reception at Marseille during the halt at La Pugère suggests that it was there that Campbell caught up with the convoy. The change of plans was therefore made either at Saint-Maximin, or during the halt outside Brignoles, or (as Helfert says) at Le Luc; and it was due not merely to the suggestion that the Fréjus road was better and safer than that to Saint-Tropez but also to Napoleon's wish to visit his sister at Le Luc and to pick up the Austrian escort there. He may have welcomed too, the idea of embarking at the place of his fortunate landing in 1799.

Brignoles was the scene of Napoleon's last trouble on this troublesome journey. Although couriers had been sent on to say that Napoleon had taken another road and was already at Le Luc, the people formed a double line along the road, and, instead of stopping to dine there, as he had intended, Napoleon had to go through the place at a gallop, amidst "bitter imprecations, only interrupted by cries of *Vive le Roi!*" The account of this incident (like that at Orgon) perhaps reached Fabry through the abbé Ferruggi, for it is followed by a description of the very different reception given to the pope

when he came this way on February 7, after leaving Fontainebleau on January 23: there was such an enthusiastic crowd that the mayor had some difficulty in reading his address of welcome, and the people lay down in the road to prevent the pope going on till he had given them his blessing.

Another fifteen miles from Brignoles brought Napoleon to Le Luc, at three or four o'clock on the afternoon of April 26. He drove through the village and stopped at a country house a little further on, the Château de Luc, at Bouillidou, the property of a M. Charles, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, where his sister Pauline had been staying for the past month, waiting to see how things turned out before she went on to her usual summer resort. It was an affectionate meeting, for Pauline was always his favorite sister. Helfert says that they kissed and shed tears: Truchsess adds that Pauline was horrified to hear of the dangers Napoleon had been through on the journey and resolved to accompany him to Elba and to stay with him there. At any rate she went off in the evening, to spend the night at Muy, a stage nearer Fréjus, leaving the Château to Napoleon and his suite.

Fabry tells a story about the stay at Le Luc which would hardly merit repetition but for the feeling that his authority is unusually good. Fifteen years before, on his return from Egypt, Napoleon had stopped at this same château, had borrowed the owner's carriage for his journey to Paris, and had failed to return it: his reputation in the place was therefore none of the best. Now the mistress of the house (Fabry says) and two other women forced their way past the sentries, and reached a passage communicating with Napoleon's room; and here they came across "a military man in an Austrian officer's uniform, who asked them, "Whom do you want to see, Mesdames?"

"We should like to see Napoleon."

"That is myself, Mesdames."

"You must be joking, Monsieur: you are not Napoleon."

"I assure you, Mesdames, that I am. I suppose you thought Napoleon was a wickeder looking man? People are saying now, aren't they, that I am *un scélérat, un brigand*? But do you know why they say such things? It is because I wanted to set France above England, and I failed to do it." At this point, after seven or eight minutes' conversation, Napoleon heard sounds of other people trying to get past the sentries, and slipped away into his sister's room.

A more authentic relic, perhaps, of Napoleon's stay at Le Luc is the letter in the official correspondence addressed "*À M. Aune, au château du Luc (Var)*" and dated "*Au Bouillidou, 29 April 1814.*" There must be something wrong here; for on April 29 Napoleon was at sea on the *Undaunted*; and sup-

posing (as one would expect) he wrote before going on board on the twenty-eighth, and misdated the letter, he would not date it from Bouillidou. Probably "*Au Bouillidou*" was part of the address, not of the date, and the misplacement is due to the editors. (One commentator wildly suggests that it was the name of the ship's barge in which Napoleon went out to the *Undaunted* and that he wrote the letter during transit.) In any case who is M. Aune? Not the owner of the château, evidently: probably the steward whom he had left in charge to see to the entertainment of Pauline, the husband of the woman whom Fabry has just called "the mistress of the house." The text of the letter says:

Your conduct, M. Aune, with regard to my sister, and your consideration, at a critical moment, for one who tried to make France the first country in the world, but has failed [the same idea as in the conversation above], give you a double claim upon my gratitude.

NAPOLEON.

Next morning—it was Wednesday, April 27—Napoleon, now in his own uniform again, and his own carriage, and surrounded by Austrian troops, set out on the last short stage of his journey and arrived at Fréjus early in the afternoon. He was visited by the *préfet* of the Var department, M. Leroi, and by the mayor; he reproached the former for not having provided better protection, and questioned the latter about the state of opinion in the town. "It's a pity Fréjus is in Provence," he said, "and I'm sorry I have done nothing yet for you; but I hope that in a few months I shall be able to compensate you"—for Napoleon no sooner reaches the coast than he begins to think of his return from exile. While alone in his room at the inn (says Fabry), Napoleon "walked rapidly up and down. Occasionally he appeared at the window to watch some frigates arriving in the anchorage off Fréjus"—the *Undaunted* was already there; the French ships arrived during the evening; "but he never appeared at the window overlooking the main street."

Oxford, England

[Part II will appear in the January issue.]

Carl Becker on Progress and Power*

LEO GERSHOY

A CRISIS of values confronted liberals in the mid-thirties. Of this Carl Becker was not unaware, when he wrote *Progress and Power*, for in that drear decade it would have been difficult for a political literate, who was not wholly irresponsible, to ignore the desperate challenge of totalitarianism to liberal democracy. So in answering the sardonic inquiry, which he had phrased in his own unmistakable way, what if anything could be said for the human race, Becker was rallying to the defense of the doctrine of progress against the attack of rival credos.

What indeed was one to say, as the solid rationalist foundations laid in the eighteenth century and the massive edifice of democracy raised by nineteenth century liberals crumbled before one's eyes? What was the outlook in the years immediately ahead for the complex of forms, institutions, attitudes, and practices which made up the culture pattern of the Atlantic Community?

To determine where man was headed, one had first to discover where he had started from and when. Hence one consulted the record—at least if one was a historian—for how, other than by scrutinizing the past, could one get his outlook for the future? Still the perspective of time alone did not suffice to place man in the necessary setting. A perspective of distance was also required, a distance sufficiently remote so that the reporter would not become emotionally involved in the activities he noted, yet not so far away that he could not report with accuracy the significant deeds that had taken place.

In the interests of historical objectivity, Becker conjured up an impartial observer whom he stationed at a happy point of vantage along the cool Olympian heights. From there he looked down upon the human scene and, divesting himself of the ideas which fashioned man's judgment and the passions which marred it, simply noted memorable deeds and recorded the difference in character and extent between man's activities at the beginning of the long adventure and at the end. With a mock concern for scientific reckoning, Becker also made those calculations in terms of a time scale of 506,000 years, the impressionistic 500,000 allotted to precivilization rigorously checked

*This paper is reprinted from Carl Becker's *Progress and Power* (copyright 1949, by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.), by special arrangement with the publisher. The merits of the paper and the wide interest in Professor Becker is sufficient justification for breaking the *Review's* precedents in such matters. It was done once before for a paper by Carl Becker and now a second time for a paper about him by one of his students. [Editor]

by the exact 6,000 that he assigned to the civilized era. The recorded difference in man's activities would be the measure of human progress.

In what seemed a moment of flippancy Becker read the report of the observer as indicating that at the end of 506,000 years man had learned to put his remote ape-like ancestors into cages while he observed their antics from the outside. This conclusion was possibly not couched in his most philosophical vein, but it did contain the kernel of his philosophical concern with the use and abuse of power. Power, he noted, was one great measure of difference. By itself power was not baleful. Destructive it had often been and threatened to be again; and of its concentration in reckless hands there was frequently little question. Yet there was no escaping it. Without power there could have been no progress; and whether progress or no in the future, power would remain.

Power, however, could not be separated from reason. From the very start, Becker pointed out, as man had sought new sources of power, he had constantly reinforced his original equipment with new implements of power devised by his reason. Reason was always related to power, limited by it and contingent on it. At all times, so the record showed, the expansion of intelligence was as much conditioned by the multiplication of the implements of power as the multiplication of the implements of power was conditioned by the expansion of intelligence. But a breakdown of this interdependence impended at the present moment, a present that had begun three hundred years or so ago. The intellectual capacity of man to modify his outlook, even his way of life, in itself greatly expanded and accelerated, was not only paralleled but exceeded by his potential to tap and utilize new sources of power. Hence the immediate problem before humanity was not with Lord Acton to rue what power had done to man or perhaps he with it, but to devise ways for controlling it or at least coming to terms with it on a reasonable basis for the future. Man would have to call on the resources of his reason to redress the balance of the old relationship.

The odds were not insuperable, for as one reviewed the four periods into which Becker had divided the time scale, a certain recurrent rhythm in the affairs of men became apparent. Periods of stability followed those of quickened change; and there were moments, 10,000 years or 100,000, when the primacy of power yielded to the less disruptive initiative of reason. Now, at the end of 506,000 years, as man faced the "x" years of an unexpired fourth period, the signs pointed to a new round of stabilization. Man's thinking could after a fashion adjust itself to new power relations. The important thing for the present was that he travel light on the new power train and,

while taking some heed that it keep on the tracks, adapt himself to its direction and tempo. In time, sobered by economic dislocation and strife and according to the rhythm established by the new technological civilization, man would learn to apply to his world of social relations the same matter-of-fact knowledge that had enabled his ancestors to reduce to orderliness and predictability the world of material nature. Humanity would be saved; all that would be lost was the idea of progress.

To readers familiar with the main contours of Becker's thinking this disillusioned diagram of the rise and fall of the doctrine of progress offered little that was new. It was neither an innocent intellectual journey nor an emergency conclusion hastily improvised to cope with an exigent need. It was of a piece with earlier views. Mankind, said Becker, having negotiated the first half million years, would last out the academic year. With the world so heavily laden, it could bear the additional burden of a book. The way of life of Western man would not survive exactly as it had been delineated in the sacred writings of liberalism, but survive it would as it had arisen, by harmonizing man's reason with his power. If the terms were far more severe than they had been before, they were not altogether exorbitant; and in any case there would always be a future.

That conclusion had slowly been forming in Becker's mind. Though he said that a passage in Keynes's *Essays in Persuasion* directly suggested the lectures that made up *Progress and Power*, it seems reasonable to look for intimations of those views in his own essays. For example, his brilliant "Mr. Wells and the New History," written in 1921, clearly reveals that the seeds of many of his mature ideas had already been planted.

In that searching study Becker first presented in capsule form his ideas on the subjective character of thinking and the purposive and selective activity that entered into the writing of history. What, he inquired, was the purpose that inspired Wells to examine the vicissitudes of mankind and to write about its triumphs? Did he hold himself, as the manuals enjoined historians to do, dispassionately aloof, or was he emotionally implicated in the course and the outcome of the process under consideration? Obviously, answered Becker, Wells was not objective. He was on the contrary most idealistically biased and involved up to the hilt in a particular Wellsian way in the purposes, desires, and aspirations of the mankind that he loved with such irritable and irritating indulgence. He was re-examining its past with an eye to future prospects, in the heart-warming thought of making effective use of humanity's heritage. So keenly and ardently did he wish to enlist the experience of mankind in the service of its destiny that he felt quite within his

scholarly rights in roundly berating history when some of its characters, like that Corsican fellow Napoleon, behaved less well than they should have. Should have behaved, that is, according to Wells's own precious conviction that historical experience most clearly illustrated the triumphant progress of man.

Mr. Wells, it was obvious, was as amiably confident about the future as he was vigorously certain about the past, particularly the institutions and the practices that he disliked. Alas, it was not the study of history that imposed upon his consciousness the glorious vision of a world state directed by disciplined intelligence and consecrated to the prosperity and happiness of its members. Nor was impartial history speaking through an experienced, observant, and scientifically-minded British reporter. An indomitable cosmopolitan and friend of man was averting his eyes with relief from a drab present of war and nationalist hatreds to seek from the pattern he had woven of the past such balm of the spirit as he could find for the future. Perhaps, as he put it, the light of a new dawn was breaking slowly, "shining through the shutters of a disordered room." Perhaps, echoed Becker, but "those shutters—how with ineffectual fingers we still fumble at the unyielding clasps."

By implying delicately that the doctrine of progress might no longer be tenable, Becker was reaching out for a thought which, in time, with the aid of a catastrophic depression and some unprogressive revolutions, matured in the pages of *Progress and Power*. In that same essay on Wells the germ of another less depressing thought was also present: the interdependence of man's thinking and his power relations. Of intelligence as the indispensable factor in progress Wells had written much in his *Outline*, too much probably for Becker. Of power, on the other hand, good liberal that he was, Wells had written rather less than enough, though with a compensatory excess of distaste. But it was to this concept of power as a factor in progress, a factor as indispensable as mind, that Becker kept returning, to temper and refine his ideas in successive studies.

He had also gently chided Wells for writing history *à la Voltaire*. Still, under the mockery Becker let it be sensed that he too was a man of feeling. His expression of belief in the capacity and goodness of man was on that occasion ironic and inverted, because he himself in those years was inhibited, unsure, and not a little nihilistic in an indifferent way. Seen in retrospect, however, this intimation pointed to the future. It foreshadowed the robust faith of his last writings, the affirmation following the embarrassed probings that marked *Progress and Power*. In this respect too the early essay anticipated his later writing. Meantime, the events of the next decade and a half

were ill calculated to overcome his skepticism on the score of man's perfectibility or strengthen what little conviction remained concerning the doctrine of human progress.

If a questioning temper was not new during the twenties and thirties, there was ominous novelty in the bitter and widespread rejection of the liberal creed. A generation earlier Sorel and others had taunted the bourgeoisie for harboring illusions of progress, but Sorel's words, while certainly echoed, had not then taken flight. Now the deeply imbedded irrational forces which he had helped release were even in the land of the free and the home of democracy mischievously joined, reinforced by war and the great depression, in their capacity for doing evil.

The limitations of the reason that Becker so greatly cherished and cultivated with such rare distinction had become apparent. It matters little whether it was from William James or John Dewey, Bergson or Freud if not Marx, or from them all or independently of them all, that he derived and fashioned his own views on the purposive nature of man's thinking. For in those middle years he was reaching full maturity as writer and thinker. Deeply introspective and rigorously honest in assessing the thinking process, he fully agreed with Laurence Sterne that "millions of thoughts are every day swimming quietly in the middle of the thin juice of a man's understanding without being carried backwards or forwards till some little gusts of passion or interest drive them to one side." He applied pragmatism to history: his famous relativist position, to many historians curiously shocking, that absolute norms do not exist, that old views are jostled by new, that the observer for all his presumed detachment is part of the observed. Reason, truth, and value judgments are purely relative, having neither objective validity nor meaning apart from the social situation in which they are framed and from which they arise. Long before he elaborated this heresy in his famous presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1931,¹ Becker had solemnly apostrophized the muse with the words: "O History, how many truths have been committed in thy name!"

Perhaps, he had then suggested, the idea of progress was such a truth, an illustration of the Voltairean quip that history was a pack of tricks that we play upon the dead, those dead whose mute and unresisting aid we invoke in the realization of our own emotional peace. Since all ideas came to the surface of consciousness only for the sake of behavior, since present consciousness was linked by memory to the past while looking forward by anticipation

¹ "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1932), 221-36.

and hope to the future, perhaps the doctrine of progress was itself only a spurious or passing truth committed in the name of history and now under altered circumstances neither useful nor tenable.

He had also been for years obsessed by the devastating implications of cosmic indifference to man. Like Pascal, whose tortured perspicuity he so deeply admired, he pointed with melancholy pride to the paradox of man triumphant over cosmos, of the thinking reed, at the very moment that the universe was crushing him in death, remaining victorious in knowing that he existed, while the universe knew nothing of him or what it was doing. The universal unawareness, this law of indifference, appears not to have upset his personal equanimity. But whatever the heavens were telling and the firmament displaying, to Becker they did not disclose the operation of natural law or the workings of a divine plan which preferred good over evil, free enterprise and liberal democracy over totalitarianism, or even the reverse. To accept cosmic indifference meant to deny a moral order with which man through his reason and his goodness could establish a harmonious understanding. Pragmatism, historical relativism, and scientific naturalism alike shook the foundations on which the classical idea of progress rested.

What then? How extricate the thinking reed from the impasse in which he was caught? The spectacle of a social universe left, as Becker saw it when he was writing *Progress and Power*, to "the chance operation of individual self-interest and the unorganized pressure of mass opinion," grievously depressed him; and he found little to exhilarate him in the related conclusion that this mass intelligence functioned most effectively at the level of primitive fears and taboos.

Those were not only years of wavering faith: they were years when ill-health and pain were depleting his small store of physical energy. In those years of gloom he composed his most despondent essays: "New Liberties for Old" (published in 1936 but written some years before), "Freedom of Speech" in 1934, and "Liberalism—A Way Station" in 1932. In the last-named Becker touched deep bottom. The very title denoted his willingness to consider the proposition that perhaps liberty had played out its role. Superficially, man still had an option between "a ruthlessly regulated economy" and a free competitive economy "made workable by whatever patchwork of socialistic devices," but what a cruel choice was offered in inviting him to choose between liberty and equality. "Choose? Oh me, that word choose," cried Becker. "We cannot choose liberty without denouncing the drastic methods now being taken to obtain equality, or choose equality so obtained without betraying liberty." And in any case the average man who operated best on

the level of primitive fears and taboos cared little enough for liberty. So little in fact that if you gave him security and within that security the liberty to do what everybody else alongside him was doing, he would probably never know or at any rate soon forget that liberty had departed. Perhaps liberalism was after all only a way station along the route that humanity had traversed, no more than a rationalization of democracy, and democracy itself only a passing phase. Perhaps, queried Becker, tenaciously worrying that dismal thought, would the egalitarianism we were approaching, like the liberalism we were leaving behind, in its turn "prove to be a new rationalization, an intellectual by-product of complex, economically interdependent industrialized societies working inevitably, and no doubt impersonally, towards stability and equilibrium?"²

Could we ourselves blot out from memory the great alarm, the deepening despondency, the near hysteria of those years, we might be tempted to suspect Becker, soul of integrity that he was, of indulging a little in histrionics, of enjoying in public the quandary in which he had encased himself. As we look back upon it, there seemed no need for his bleak dejection. *As we look back upon it*—that is the point. Becker was not looking back; he was in the thick of the night, peering anxiously through the darkness for signs of light. It was in no spirit of mock heroism that he resigned himself to an unwelcome way out of the difficulty, to a future where the solution of human problems would be imposed not by choosing between alternatives, but by accepting the pressure of common men and the rhythm of the machines they tended. He was displaying the same stoicism and the same tough common sense that he always employed. He was in fact regaining his balance.

To the extent that the world seemed to be moving toward an undifferentiated uniformity that offended cultivated tastes, the pages of *Progress and Power* are suffused with melancholy. Yet the nostalgia for intellectual and aesthetic delights which Becker saw receding into memory gives a false tone to the book. The survey of the past was after all only a device enabling him to scan the future; and the future, seen in perspective, was assured. Here then was a notable shift in emphasis. In 1932 he was deeply depressed over the cost of adjustment, reluctant even for the sake of terrestrial salvation to renounce "the idle curiosity, the mental vagabondage of the brooding, reflecting mind." In *Progress and Power* on the other hand, he was far more elated over the thought that a solution could be effected without destroying the bases of democratic living than upset over what now seemed a comparatively small toll fee to get out of his difficulties. The culture pattern he knew and loved

² "Liberalism—A Way Station," in *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York, 1935), p. 100.

would remain much the same in forms and institutions, even though attitudes and practices would be drastically altered. Yet for some years ill-health fortified his temperament in checking enthusiasm, while his thinking, set within the circle of an intellectualized apprehension of life, withheld him from elaborating the details of the solution he had come to accept.

He was doomed for many years to a kind of apathy, compounded of emotional dejection and physical tiredness. If he did not speak in fashionable terms of being frustrated by life, he always felt a little tired. He was never entirely without some discomfort from an old stomach ailment or free from the fear that relief from pain was only a respite. He was moody; and discouragement sometimes vented itself a little sharply. Of vital, abundant energy it would be a mockery to speak. By carefully husbanding what he had, he made the most of very little, not without draining some part in an effort to conceal impatience with the more unveiled manifestations of stupidity. The mildest and most endearing of men, he suffered fools less than gladly. He was disposed also to exaggerate the differences between the sophisticated and unsophisticated levels of awareness and appreciation, because he himself moved and had his being on an unusually high level of honesty and abstraction. Cut off, too, by his own choice from the generality of men and uncompromisingly severe with his own mental processes, he tended to fall into the error of many intellectuals, to underestimate the common man's capacity to resist manipulation and not be hoodwinked.

In the beginning of his career, teaching was a painful experience for him. He suffered agonies, as he later recalled, in facing his students or even at the prospect of having to face them. By his early Cornell days, he was the joy of his admirers with the cool, detached way in which he could say "I don't know" to an ill-advised question; but few of us appreciated at what cost this assurance had been won, how many vigils dedicated to anticipating questions that might be asked on the following day, how many years of deliberate training of his memory.

As time and academic renown brought him a measure of financial security, Becker often relaxed from strain in a variety of diversions that respectful seminar students found hard to associate with his intellectual astringency. Not even distance kept him from being a big-league baseball fan. For many years he played billiards at the local Town and Gown almost with academic regularity, as though it were a scheduled class exercise, and, what was more, with almost professional mastery. On less public occasions and for the benefit of a few intimates he was known to compose gay and delightful doggerel. If he loved to read novels, he also borrowed murder mysteries in armfuls from

the lending library; and he was a devotee of the movies, such as were shown at Ithaca. Most of all he found relaxation in taking the family or friends for a spin in the new Dodge. To a sometime graduate student greatly impressed with Becker's professorial affluence, there seemed always to be a new Dodge. He drove with skill, but with considerable speed too, and to an old friend his familiar countenance, as he sat at the steering wheel and talked, seemed curiously distorted, one side resembling Socrates and the other, Barney Oldfield.

From his reading and thinking, from clarification of thought in conversation, even in lectures as he loved to point out, he acquired slowly over the years that grave yet kindly serenity which was his indubitable hallmark. If there were only a single word to characterize his quality, without question wisdom would be the most appropriate. Perhaps serenity is too suggestive of superiority to convey his peculiar union of pity and irony, wry humor, inner assurance, and discriminating impatience. For the unfettered well-wishers of humanity, the idealists whose distress over cruelties or evils led them to vault over the high hazards of historical experience, he reserved a forbearing disapproval and a whimsical tolerance. Toward the pretentious of both sexes and all ages, and toward the officious, he entertained a fine contempt. He was no joiner of movements, and his modesty and sense of dignity made him resentfully critical of any abuse of power.

On the other hand, he never had to be reminded that his humbleness was as good as anybody else's. For all his sense of futility, no Hamlet-like doubts assailed him. In his slow, quiet, and quizzically deliberate way he kept an even keel. Had Becker lived and died in some small village community, he probably would have been known and remembered locally as a fellow with a lot of horse sense. Possibly, with his old-fashioned rugged individualism and his absence of affectation and vanity, with his curious insistence on telling the truth in a simple way, he might have achieved the distinction, not altogether invidious, of being called a character.

Endowed with those attributes and a reflective temper that study had sharpened and refined, he found it a challenging undertaking to write about vast sweeps of time and trace the play of great forces. But historian of ideas (and devoted reader of novels), he knew too much about men and women to countenance the illusions of scientific history. He would neither convert the processes of history into logical inevitabilities nor reduce man to an automatic convenience, neatly illustrating some profound theory of behavior or explanation of historical development. The brilliant analysis of an emotional and intellectual impasse in his early essay, "The Dilemma of Diderot,"

and the vignettes of such diverse people as Frederick the Great, Mazzini, Rousseau, and Cavour, in *Modern History*, remind us of the delicate and sympathetic awareness with which he appreciated many different facets of human personality. Without the advantage of formal training in psychology, or of psychoanalysis as far as his friends know, he had learned to accept the casual, the contingent, and the wayward as elements of the human adventure.

Nor did philosophy ever represent to him an opportunity to escape from life and evade social responsibilities. On the contrary, he had a pronounced sense of the historian's responsibility. He held with Dewey that philosophy was "a critique of basic and widely shared beliefs." The philosopher was one who came to grips with the key problems of value in his own culture, seeking to end characteristic disturbances and mediate between divergent needs by elaborating new ideas appropriate to the occasion. This was, however, what the historian was also concerned with, if he were worth his salt. While he was discharging his specialized obligations in accordance with the canons of his craft and through a medium of expression appropriate to the particular historical problem at hand, he should still be writing history *en philosophe*. A preoccupation with values, for direction as well as for details, for ends not less than means, for the good, should permeate all his conclusions, while guiding and controlling his inquiry. Unless he knew in advance what questions he wished to put, he was working without direction, and his product might well be an abuse of the reader's confidence.

This was the sort of task that Becker had set for himself when he wrote *Progress and Power*. He was bringing to consciousness in a highly intellectualized form the shocks that were troubling his age. He was propounding in the light of his specialized competence solutions for the guidance of his fellow men. And as a reader in his own turn pondered over the problems which bemused Becker, the antitheses of stability and change, harmony and conflict, appearance and reality, an impression slowly gathered that one had returned to the eighteenth century. For of Becker it should be said, as it has been said of Gibbon, that he never left the age of the Enlightenment. Whatever he wrote about or wherever he was, the transplanted Iowa farm boy did not venture far from his spiritual home in Adam Smith's Edinburgh or the Paris of the *philosophes*.

A few voices may occasionally have been lifted from the side of the specialists to regret what they considered his unprofessional predilection for philosophy, but none ever contested his superb professional competence. Becker was widely recognized as a masterly craftsman and held in the highest esteem for his magnificent command of a research technique that he af-

fect to make little of. There is nothing in the known record challenging his devotion to truth, though he had made it clear from a very early date that he was happily indifferent to pursuing truth for the sake of vindicating the hallowed rules governing the quest. Outside of his brilliant doctoral dissertation on political parties in New York on the eve of the Revolution and his *Declaration of Independence*, he did not make what is formally called an "original contribution to learning." Becker was no savant, and his interest in swelling the body of factual information could not be considered overwhelming. In those circumstances the widespread recognition of his extraordinary talents, which made him in his later years a dominant force in American historiography, is a tribute to the discrimination of his colleagues in the field.

Personality and character, temperament and qualities of mind were all reflected in Becker's literary style. He is a classic example of style revealing the man. What his style does not possess is what Becker himself lacked, a joyous, full-bodied, and colorful sense of life. In his earlier writing, possibly because he was still young, in good health, and not overburdened with doubts, he displayed a whimsy, a light-hearted gaiety, an exuberance even, which little by little disappeared from his later work. He was chary of descriptive adjectives, and for adverbs of color he seemed to entertain a positive distrust. Knowing the man, one took it for granted that his writing should have more line than depth and less color than rhythm. It conveyed neither impressions of physical turmoil nor of emotional agitation, and his smooth, flowing legato was not often interrupted by the shock of dramatic contrasts. Elemental urges and biological impulses, when they emerged on his pages, were attired in seemly literary dress.

Nuanced, however, graceful and full of charm his style was, an instrument of exquisite distinction. Like its creator it had the virtues of highest lucidity, sensitivity of spirit, and unseen yet profoundly sensed control. No invertebrate flabbiness of thought or construction marred its ordered precision, and there was between the tempered subtlety of his mind and the measured, often stately though informal cadence of his words a complete and intimate rapport. An understanding amounting to fusion prevailed between the discriminating author and the contrived understatement of his writing, so coolly ironic at need, or, when it served his purpose, so sharp and piercing. The disarming and admired simplicity, while it mirrored his distaste for pretense and affectation, was supreme artifice brilliantly achieved, but an effortless ease purchased at the price of the same assiduous toil that enabled him to get at the heart of the matter without lacerating the delicate

tissue around. Only fugitive metaphors larded bare facts, and similes rarely modified his expository bluntness. In irony and urbane wit, his style like his thoughts was rich; but biting satire was infrequent. No external application of polish achieved the effects that Becker wished to create. The matchless felicity was derived from an inner synthesis of mind and mood which imbued the best of his writing with a subdued, sustained, and almost haunting eloquence.

By the time of *Progress and Power*, Becker had reacted against misfortune and his balance was in the main restored, but he remained doubtful even about his tentative prognosis for the future. It was not his general practice to invite comment on his writing, least of all on broad, philosophical subjects, but in a letter written from Stanford on May 5, 1935, he clearly revealed his misgivings. After reporting that his lectures had been well received, he went on to say: "Now I will put them aside for a few months to get an objective view of them. . . . I am going to send one copy to you . . . if you will promise hand on heart, to give me your quite unprejudiced critical opinion. Not to praise Caesar, but if necessary to bury Caesar is what I want."

Those misgivings were in a sense well grounded. *Progress and Power* is quintessential Becker, one of his most provocative books and certainly one of his most beautifully written. Keen and searching in its insight and fascinating for the richness that it reveals of his well-stored and allusive mind, it shows Becker in his most stimulating and tantalizing vein, holding a brilliant colloquy with himself. But it also discloses the doubts and uncertainties which beset him. In the running debate one voice seems to say: Without expecting too much from reason, man must use it, limited, contingent, purposive, for what it is worth. But we must learn to cut hopes down to size, edit for twentieth century expectations the hopeful Tenth Epoch of Condorcet's *Esquisse*. Another voice is heard saying farewell to the old-fashioned, rationalist intellectuals who still sought to instill the spirit of brotherhood into the heart of man. It is heard crying hail to the technological elite of tomorrow, those new guides whose concern is with the needs of technical organization, who speak not the language of persuasion but express themselves in the symbols that have to do with controls and planning.

It was Becker's guarded belief that the two voices could be harmonized. To edit Condorcet would not mean abandoning the hope that our ancestors had placed in reason. It meant shifting our front, reorganizing our forces, withdrawing for the time being to a prepared position from which, under the new leadership, we would advance more securely if not more rapidly toward the old goal of peace and plenty, liberty and equality and happiness

for all. It was a way of admitting that the erratic and poorly designed brains of man could not do many of the specialized tasks of today nearly so well as the superior built-in brains of the machines. As steam power had supplemented or replaced muscle, so the human brain would make place for electronics.

Becker did not live long enough to work out the implications and explore the possibilities in the vast uncharted terrain of "control and communication in the animal and the machine"—to make use of the subtitle of Norbert Wiener's exciting *Cybernetics*, where these possibilities are probed. Had he survived to investigate the subject, surely he would have been captivated by the discovery of machines that received orders, enjoyed good electronic memory, and, anticipating the actions of man on the basis of his reactions as studied by mathematicians and psychologists, made decisions on their own. Here he would have found vindication for his own prediction that the fact of progress, without the sustaining idea, could most effectively be realized by leaving it to the machines. Leaving it to the machines would be one way, and not the worst, of giving man the long-desired opportunity of enlisting his historical experience, his matter-of-fact apprehension of external nature, in the service of his social destiny. And how the paradox would have stirred Becker, that at the very moment that man gave up his initiative to take his cue from the machines, which, ignoring purposes and emotions, attended strictly to the business at hand, he still had the cheerless solace of knowing that he had triumphed over them, because the machine would not know of its success nor recognize in man its victim, its designer and creator. Not the starry firmament above nor the moral law within would have filled Becker with wonder and awe but man communing with nature via an electronic tube.

What he did work out in some detail was the correlated concept of control and planning. For to follow the rhythm and tempo set by the machines meant accepting responsibility to compel obedience to their needs; and this in turn meant organizing planning for the many, while jealously preserving their freedoms. This vision was Becker's own New Harmony, where control men would socialize the strategic liberties of thought and expression, learning and teaching, and all the civil liberties that under no circumstances would be sacrificed. In *Progress and Power* he only reached out for the vision; in his last books, *Modern Democracy*, *How New Will the Better World Be?* and *Freedom and Responsibility*, he came to realize that he was doing even more than saving the strategic liberties. He was also drafting a rough blueprint for the richer culture of a socialized democracy, where the individual

personality would have a greater opportunity for growth than in the planless atomized democracy of today.

So captivated was he by his vision of democracy triumphant that he proclaimed in an exultant and moving passage that the traditional democratic values were in fact older and more universal than democracy and in no wise dependent on it. "They have a life of their own apart from any particular social system or type of civilization. They are the values which . . . men have commonly employed to measure the advance or the decline of civilization, the values they have celebrated in the saints and sages whom they have agreed to canonize. They are the values that readily lend themselves to rational justification, yet need no justification."³

Becker had traveled a long way from doubt. Taken literally this triumphant ode was at variance with all the thinking of his lifetime. It was Becker turned Burke in awareness of the organic unity of life and the continuity of human history. The words do not matter much, for it is the spirit that counts. It was Becker reaffirming his faith in his way of life and the way of life of his fathers. Even at his most cynical, he had always remained a believer at heart. When these last words were written he had returned to the fold. He had rejoined Voltaire and Condorcet and Wells and all the goodly company who wished humanity well.

New York University

³ "Some Generalities that Still Glitter," *Yale Review*, XXIX (June, 1940), 666.

Cipriano Castro, "Man without a Country"

J. FRED RIPPY and CLYDE E. HEWITT

ON March 13, 1909, the American public learned that ex-President Castro was about to sail from Europe for Venezuela. The spectacle of a South American dictator who had managed successfully to leave his native land with millions of dollars of booty (so it was said) and yet was willing and anxious to return in the face of what could be vigorous opposition from his successor, caught the attention of the alert *New York Times*, which published this cogent comment in its editorial columns:

It has usually been the custom of South American despots to remain in Europe with their—well, accumulated millions when they escaped with their lives from the overturn of their governments. Castro, however, is different from the common men of his class, with something of the old-time fervor in his love of fighting, and there have been a good many indications that while his abilities as an exploiter of opportunities to acquire fortune are high, he is at least as fond of power as of money. It is not so surprising, therefore, that, having been cured of his mysterious malady, he has found the delights of Europe tame and is yearning for the more spacious joys and dangers of his old position. . . . His resources now are greater than those with which he first conquered the country, and there is no particular reason for assuming that his welcome would be any less warm than it was then from the people whom his rule pleased. Gómez will have powerful outside support, however, so the road to Caracas will present new difficulties to the famous Andino.¹

Difficulties there were to be, and no welcome. But Castro had a star and a destiny! Or, so he thought. Like a far more famous dictator before him, the ex-president fancied himself returning from Elba. He was reported as having said when he left Paris for Bordeaux, his port of embarkation: "I believe that God and destiny call me back to Venezuela. I intend to accomplish my mission there, even though it involves revolution."² A few days later he was not so garrulous about the revolution but as melodramatic as ever. On board ship just before it left Bordeaux, he was asked by a reporter whether he cherished the ambition to become again president of Venezuela. "Señor Castro removed his cap and replied: 'I seek the quietude of my native soil.' Then with a grandiloquent flourish of his arms he added: 'But I am a man of destiny.'"³

¹ *New York Times*, Mar. 13, 1909, p. 6. There is no comment on this "outside support."

² *New York Daily Tribune*, Mar. 26, 1909, p. 3. "Like Francis I all is lost save honor. I am going back to Venezuela. My country needs me and my mission is there." (*Ibid.*)

³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 27, 1909, p. 3; *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1909, p. 3.

However, as it turned out, Cipriano Castro's "return from Elba" resembled Napoleon's about as much as do the niches of the two men in world history. There were no "Hundred Days" for Castro—only thirty-one. There was no landing in Venezuela, followed by an irresistible march to the capital with excited bands of loyal followers flocking to the standard—there was no landing at all. There was no glorious climactic feat of arms—only ignominious expulsion and a quick voyage back to Europe.

There was, on the other hand, at least one resemblance. Both Napoleon and Castro had to face an overwhelming alliance of unfriendly powers.

About the time the self-styled "Lion of the Andes" was leaving Bordeaux, Venezuela and the United States began to communicate earnestly with the Caribbean states and with the European powers that held possessions in the region. The aim of this diplomatic maneuvering was to prevent Castro from setting up any base of operations for a revolutionary movement against his former associates in the Venezuelan government. As the plan developed, it envisaged facing Castro with two alternatives—either immediate return to Europe or a trial in Caracas before a hostile court for the political murder of a former opponent.⁴

When the good ship *Guadeloupe*, on its outward voyage with Castro aboard, touched at Point-à-Pitre, Island of Guadeloupe, on April 6, 1909, the former president of Venezuela was officially informed by the English consul at that place that he would not be allowed to land on British territory. This meant that Castro could not disembark at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, where he would have been almost in sight of his native soil and might have been welcomed by a colony of fellow conspirators. Despite foreknowledge of the British warning, an American warship called at Port-of-Spain on April 7, just as a precaution.⁵

Not long after touching at Point-à-Pitre the *Guadeloupe* arrived at Fort-de-France, Martinique. Here Señor Castro was allowed to go ashore, but five days later the would-be Napoleon was literally carried in his nightclothes to

⁴ This "plan" and its application were reported in the columns of American newspapers about as rapidly as they unfolded. See, for example, *New York Times*, Apr. 8, 1909, p. 4, and Apr. 9, 1909, p. 6.

⁵ The documentation is involved. For the date of the warning, see *New York Daily Tribune*, Apr. 8, 1909, p. 4. For the movements of the American warship, the cruiser *North Carolina*, see the Records of the Department of State, National Archives, Numerical File Vol. 298, Marshall to the Bureau of Naval Affairs, Washington, D. C., Port-of-Spain, Apr. 8, 1909, 3136/298. Stories of Castro's fellow-conspirators appeared in American news columns, e.g., *New York Times*, Apr. 7, 1909, p. 4. It apparently was Castro's plan to stop at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, rather than at La Guaira. Indeed, the French Steamship Company had earlier announced that it would embark Castro only on the condition that he leave the ship before it reached Venezuela. (See *New York Daily Tribune*, Mar. 25, 1909, p. 3.)

dockside and deposited on a ship setting sail for Europe. An American cruiser lay anchored in the harbor watching the proceedings.⁶

Castro had left Paris on March 24. He arrived back on April 24. In so short a time was his little drama played out.⁷

Today the incident has almost been forgotten. At the time, however, millions of people were familiar with the name of Cipriano Castro. He had been stirring up trouble too long in an area too close to America's vital canal zone to have failed to build up newspaper interest in the United States. In 1909 his name must have been nearly as well known to residents of this country as that of the Mexican dictator-president, Porfirio Díaz.⁸ News of Castro's expulsion from Martinique made the front pages of the leading Sunday papers.⁹ McCutcheon of the Chicago *Tribune* favored him with a front-page cartoon.¹⁰ And stories of his doings before the expulsion had been headlined for several days on inside pages. Yet the excitement died down quickly. The military uprising in Turkey more than took Castro's place in the newspaper press. As for the contemporary periodicals, very few of them concerned themselves with the affair despite its sensational aspects, and no historian has since made it the subject of monographic study.¹¹

It will be remembered that Castro, after nine years of misrule, had left Caracas for Europe and the surgeon's knife near the end of the year 1908. The date of his departure was November 24. The previous day he had turned the government over to Juan Vicente Gómez, his lieutenant and vice-president.¹²

⁶ New York *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 12, 1909, p. 2. Apparently officers in civilian attire from the United States cruiser *North Carolina* watched Castro's forcible ejection and helped to make him as comfortable as possible on his improvised stretcher—he being actually, or feignedly, ill.

⁷ Subsequently he took up domicile in Spain which, to follow the parallel he himself had encouraged, became his St. Helena, except that he did not stay there. (See below p. 51.)

⁸ The naval blockade, the Hague arbitrations, the asphalt and other controversies with American corporations, as well as his recent affairs with the French and Dutch governments, had all received much coverage in the American press.

⁹ See, for example, the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 11, 1909, p. 1; New York *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 11, 1909, p. 1; New York *Times*, Apr. 11, 1909, p. 1.

¹⁰ This was a 3-column cartoon entitled "Poor Robinson Castro." It showed the ex-president sitting dejectedly on a little island surveying "keep-off" signs on numerous points of land around him. One such point, of course, was labeled "Venezuela."

¹¹ Keeping Castro out of Venezuela was, strictly speaking, illegal. It represents dollar diplomacy to the "nth" degree. Yet there were not more than three or four magazine stories about the episode: *Current Literature*, XLVI (May, 1909), 489-90; *Outlook*, XCI (Apr. 17, 1909), 852-53; and *Nation*, LXXXVIII (Apr. 22, 1909), 398. The archives of the State Department covering this period have been open to scholars only since 1942.

¹² This was the third time Gómez had performed his chief's duties. In the spring of 1905 Castro, after threatening to leave the country, had made a forty-day journey through the republic instead. A year later he pleaded ill health and again turned the government over to Gómez. He may have been seeking a public response in his favor in this latter case. But he seems to have been genuinely ill—with a kidney ailment, in November. A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *South American Dictators during the First Century of Independence* (Washington, 1937), pp. 416-17.

The events of the next few weeks in Venezuela are obscure. There may have been a plot by Castro's friends (some of whom had been delegated by their chief to watch Gómez) to assassinate the vice-president on the night of December 18. The appearance off-shore of hostile Dutch war vessels was announced, and there was also an agitation by the populace of Caracas favorable to Gómez, but whether it was spontaneous or incited is not clear. In any case, Gómez proclaimed martial law, arrested the leaders of the alleged conspiracy, replaced the cabinet, and assumed power in his own name on December 19, 1908.¹³

His move to solicit foreign support followed so abruptly that there can be little doubt that Gómez, or his advisers, were deliberately basing their chances of ultimate success upon a complete reversal of that mistreatment of foreign nationals and corporations in Venezuela so long and assiduously practiced by Castro. On December 21, two days after his assumption of power, Gómez got in touch with the various legations in Caracas and proposed a settlement of all outstanding international questions. He even asked that an American warship be sent to La Guaira "in prevision of events."¹⁴ On the very same day, according to one report, Washington sent down the battleship *Maine*, followed later by two others, the *Des Moines* and *North Carolina*, with United States Commissioner W. I. Buchanan on board the third.¹⁵

Within a week or so after his assumption of power Gómez exchanged views with Commissioner Buchanan looking toward "an equitable and just arrangement of matters pending with the United States."¹⁶ Buchanan experienced no difficulty; an agreement was signed on February 13, 1909. Diplomatic relations, broken off eight months previously, were resumed on March 9.¹⁷

Gómez pursued a similar course toward the other powers. He sent the

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 419-20, and "End of Castro's Rule in Venezuela," *Independent*, LXV (Dec. 31, 1908), 1586.

¹⁴ The telegram to the United States State Department from the Brazilian embassy, then in charge of its affairs at Caracas read: "Reaction initiated against Gen. Castro. Minister for foreign affairs saw me today, asked make it known [to] American Government wish [of] President Gómez to settle satisfactorily all international questions. Thinks convenient presence of American warship La Guaira in prevision of events. He made similar communications to legations. Please transmit Rio." *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1909*, (Washington, 1910), p. 609.

¹⁵ *Independent*, LXV (Dec. 31, 1908), 1586. On December 21 the battleship *Maine* had steamed south from Hampton Roads under sealed orders. Both the State and Navy Departments refused to reveal its destination at first. There was a general belief that it was going to La Guaira. The truth of this rumor was admitted by the State Department on December 23 in announcing Buchanan's departure. (New York Times, Dec. 22, 1908, p. 7 and Dec. 24, 1908, p. 2.)

¹⁶ Buchanan to Root, Dec. 31, 1908 [tel.], *Foreign Relations, 1909*, p. 612.

¹⁷ Gómez to Roosevelt, Mar. 9, 1909; Roosevelt to Gómez, Feb. 27, 1909 (trans.), *Exposición que dirige al congreso nacional en sus sesiones constitucionales de 1909 el ciudadano ministro de relaciones exteriores* (ed. oficial; Caracas, 1909), pp. 161, 169.

respected Juan de Jesús Paúl to Paris and the Hague on a special mission on December 24. On that date also he reached an accord with Colombia regarding a boundary dispute.¹⁸

In the meantime, ex-President Cipriano Castro had been successfully undergoing an operation in Europe. Aside from that inconvenience, he may have been enjoying himself. During his first three weeks in Germany his hotel expenses were said to have been \$500 a day.¹⁹ It is morally certain, however, that he did not relish the news that soon came to him from Venezuela. Perhaps because he was avid for power, perhaps because he thought he needed more money, perhaps because he wanted revenge on his perfidious henchman, Castro decided to return to America.

Although, as events turned out, Gómez did not need to fear his coming, he feared it nevertheless. How many friends the former president might have had in Caracas was not known. That he had some was sure. That people might flock to his standard, once he unfurled it on Venezuelan soil, was a possibility to be reckoned with.²⁰

It was on the afternoon of March 23, 1909, that the State Department in Washington received its first official intimation of Castro's impending return. It came from the acting head of the royal embassy of the Netherlands in Washington, who stated that Castro would leave on the twenty-sixth from Bordeaux on the S.S. *Guadeloupe* and that he would attempt to land either in Venezuela or Panama. Royaards, Dutch chargé d'affaires *ad interim* in Washington, had been requested to bring the matter to the knowledge of the United States "insofar as it may be necessary."²¹ Secretary Knox himself acknowledged the note a few days later, March 27, and on the same day advised both the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy of the contents of the message.²²

¹⁸ *New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1908, p. 2. *Exposición . . . 1909*, p. vii. Luis Correa, comp., *El general J. V. Gómez, documentos para la historia de su gobierno* (Caracas, 1925), p. 28, "Mensaje al Congreso," May 29, 1909. There originated in London at this time a rumor to the effect that the Castro-Gómez trouble was all part of a big plot being engineered by the former to effect a settlement with the Dutch, and that when this objective had been reached, Castro would resume power. (*New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1908, p. 4.)

¹⁹ Medical and clinical expenses were reported to be \$8,250. *New York Daily Tribune*, Mar. 24, 1909, p. 3.

²⁰ The *New York Times*, in an editorial (Mar. 29, 1909, p. 6), spoke of the Gómez administration being "so comically afraid of what would happen if the deposed dictator were to have a chance to appeal to the people who are supposed to hate him so bitterly."

²¹ Records of the Department of State, National Archives, Numerical File Vol. 297, Royaards to Secretary of State, Mar. 23, 1909, 3136/126. (All citations subsequently made to this source will be to documents found in Numerical File Vols. 297 or 298. Inasmuch, however, as the jacket numbers run consecutively from 3136/126 to 3136/255, all future reference to numerical file volume numbers will be omitted for the sake of brevity.)

²² P. C. Knox to Secretary of War, Mar. 27, 1909, and P. C. Knox to Secretary of Navy, Mar. 27, 1909, *ibid.*

From that moment until danger of a Castro uprising in Venezuela was past the resources of the Executive Department of the United States were industriously utilized to keep Castro away from this hemisphere. Two days after Knox had informed the Navy Department of Castro's projected voyage, Huntington Wilson, Acting Secretary of State, wrote Secretary of the Navy Meyer as follows:

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that, in the judgment of the Department of State, it is necessary to the interests of this Government that a vessel of the Navy be immediately ordered to La Guaira, with instructions to keep informed of the movements of the ex-President Castro, in so far as his return to Venezuela may be for the purpose of overthrowing the government, and to be prepared to protect American interests in case of the conditions indicated. . . .²³

In the same communication Wilson spoke of Castro's possible overthrow of the Gómez government as "an eventuality which would be disastrous not only to American but to all other foreign interests in that Republic."

The naval vessel was sent. As a matter of fact, the Navy Department ordered three ships to keep track of Castro's movements. The instructions disclosed the firmness of United States attitude at this time:

Strictly confidential. Ex-President Castro sailed March twenty-sixth steamer Guadeloupe from Bordeaux for Venezuela probably touching Trinidad. Avowed intention to recover power. Send NORTH CAROLINA and MONTANA Trinidad to report Castro's movements. If he leaves by vessel ships will follow closely to point of landing on Venezuelan soil. Direct Marshall exercise greatest discretion carrying out these orders. Direct PADUCAH report to Marshall for duty. She will proceed La Guayra to observe and report if landing is made there. Communicate to Department through Curacao.²⁴

Not only was the United States government prepared to employ its navy in keeping an eye on Castro; it was also doing its best to provide a cold reception for Señor Castro in this hemisphere. During the evening of March 27 the State Department had received a telegram from William W. Russell, its newly reinstalled minister at Caracas, revealing official Venezuelan apprehension regarding Castro's return. Venezuela, still at diplomatic odds with France but desirous of ascertaining that country's views, had asked Russell "to communicate with French Government and inquire officially what attitude of French would be with respect to Castro, as a passenger on board

²³ Huntington Wilson to Secretary of Navy, Mar. 29, 1909, *ibid.*

²⁴ Meyer, Secretary of Navy, to Secretary of State, Mar. 31, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/134. This is a copy of a telegram sent to Rear Admiral C. H. Arnold, U.S.N., Commanding the Squadron for Special Service at Caimanera, Cuba.

French vessel and in Venezuelan waters, should the Venezuelan government attempt to arrest him for trial as a common criminal in the suits now instituted against him."²⁵

Needless to say, the United States promptly made the inquiry. Someone from the State Department, probably Huntington Wilson, immediately saw Jules Jusserand, who promised to communicate with his government about the matter and expressed a personal sympathy with the attitude of the United States.²⁶ The next move was to inform London, Paris, and the Hague of that same attitude. In messages containing much pointed phraseology and several leading suggestions, Knox instructed his representatives at those capitals as follows:

You may also say that we are sending a warship to La Guira [*sic*] with instructions to keep informed of the movements of ex-President Castro in so far as his return to Venezuela may be for the purpose of overthrowing the Government and to be prepared to protect American interests in the eventuality indicated; and that *we feel that in the present circumstances the position of Mr. Castro nearly approaches that of an outlaw and that those Governments which for financial, geographical or other reasons are interested in the maintenance of a responsible government in Venezuela should take all legitimate measures to prevent their ships or territory from being used in a way which would hamper the Government of Venezuela in dealing with the menace of Castro's return.* [Italics ours.]

We have asked the French Ambassador here to answer the question of the Venezuelan Government as to their attitude if it were sought to take Castro on a criminal charge from a French ship. We are glad to believe that the Governor of Trinidad has been instructed not to tolerate activities there dangerous to the Government of Venezuela.²⁷

For information purposes, copies were also sent to the American legations at Bogotá and Panama.²⁸

An indication that the British had independently interested themselves in the matter was contained in Ambassador Reid's reply to Knox's cablegram:

Saw Sir Edward Grey on receipt of today's cipher despatch about Castro. He

²⁵ Russell to Secretary of State, Mar. 27, 1909 [rec. 9:01 P.M.], *ibid.*, 3136/127. Russell suggested the advisability of an American cruiser calling in Venezuelan waters early in April. For the sending of this dispatch Russell had special permission to use the French Cable Company lines which had been closed since 1905 by order of Castro. In March, 1909, the line was open for the use of Venezuela and of the company in facilitating negotiations for a settlement. (Russell to Secretary of State, Apr. 4, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/141.) Subsequently the line was opened in connection with this Castro affair (see Postal Telegraph Company to Department of State, Apr. 3, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/138).

²⁶ There are two memorandums on this matter, one unsigned but bearing the stamp of the Assistant Secretary, the other from Wilson to Jusserand, Mar. 29, 1909. (*Ibid.*, 3136/127.)

²⁷ *Ibid.* (jacket number not given, presumably 3136/127). This same file also contains a copy of the actual telegram from Knox to the London embassy bearing the same language and instructions to repeat by telegraph to Paris and the Hague. The telegram was sent on March 30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

had already acted on his own information on same subject and asked Colonial Office if they would not have authority to prevent Castro landing at all. He would like to do this and hoped could soon tell me answer from Colonial Office.²⁹

The following day the French revealed that they had no objection to Castro's arrest on board the *Guadeloupe* when it arrived in Venezuelan waters and that they were in complete accord with American views.³⁰ Castro's reception promised to be frigid.

Although the State Department temporarily slackened its overt action it did not suspend its apprehensive vigilance. William W. Russell had informed his chief on March 21 that up to that time there had been no complete reaction against Castro in Venezuela and that almost all the old followers of Castro either were in Caracas or were preparing to go there. Russell referred to the session of Congress scheduled to open on May 23 as being awaited with some anxiety, inasmuch as it was the same Congress that had been chosen and completely controlled by General Castro.³¹ This evoked from A. A. Adece, second assistant secretary, the suggestion that Castro might stop somewhere in the Caribbean and prepare to "return to Elba" on May 23. "We ought to have two or three vessels on the Venezuelan coasts before that time," he added.³²

On April 1, the day following the receipt of Russell's dispatch, a personal letter arrived from W. I. Buchanan for Secretary Knox. This communication also indicated some possibility (though Buchanan thought it was slight) that Castro might regain power, and offered justification for United States intervention that was close to Knox's heart—the settlement of important claims pending between the United States and Venezuela was at stake:

It seems to me that our interests now in Venezuela, growing out of the obligations that have been assumed toward us by the present Government in the matter of the arbitration of the three claims, the protocols for which require the approval of their Congress, which meets early in May, are such as to warrant us in exert-

²⁹ Reid to Secretary of State, No. 385 [tel.], Mar. 31, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/128.

³⁰ See the unsigned memorandum dated March 31, 1909, concerning a telephone call from the French ambassador to the State Department, *ibid.*, 3136/143. The French attitude toward Castro's arrest is also revealed in White to Secretary of State, Apr. 1, 1909 [tel.], 3136/135, and confirmed in White to Knox, No. 682, Apr. 2, 1909, 3136/158. A dispatch from Minister Russell received the previous day indicated that the French had several weeks before sought to ascertain what the attitude of Venezuela would be if Castro attempted to land in Venezuela on board a French ship. They were informed that he would be arrested, imprisoned, and tried as any common criminal. (Russell to Secretary of State, No. 345, Mar. 21, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/130-32.) Apparently the Dutch did not feel that the American note called for a reply.

³¹ Russell to Secretary of State, Mar. 21, 1909 [rec. Mar. 31], No. 345, *ibid.*, 3136/130-32. A second and more complete analysis of the relative strengths of Gómez and Castro is contained in Russell to Secretary of State, No. 356, Mar. 28, 1909 [rec. Apr. 8], 3136/148. He concluded that Castro would not take the chance of forcing his way into the country.

³² Memorandum, Adece to Wilson, Apr. 1, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/130-32.

ing our influence in the direction of peace and good order there for some time to come; and I venture to suggest in line with this that I believe it would be wise to have one of our ships drop in at La Guira [*sic*] before the arrival of the French ship on which Castro is coming and to have another drop in at Port of Spain, Trinidad, to be there at the time the ship bearing him reaches there.³³

These reports, and perhaps some items appearing in the press, may have influenced Knox to suggest firmness to President Gómez. At any rate, on April 1 Knox sent instructions to Russell which, after informing him of the various steps taken by the United States, concluded:

This action has been taken in implicit reliance upon the Government of President Gómez, whose failure in the present crisis might restore conditions disgraceful to all America. To facilitate the friendly action of the United States in watching events you will request that permission be now granted to use the French Cable for telegrams between our ships, the Legation, and the Department.³⁴

More fidgeting on the part of the department was caused by a telegram from its minister in Panama, Herbert G. Squiers, who reported an unconfirmed rumor that Castro might land at Colón. "The President said," reported Squiers, "he will permit him to land but will not allow him to violate the neutrality of Panaman territory by any revolutionary movements against present Venezuelan Government."³⁵ A memorandum attached by Alvey A. Adey betrayed a rather forceful attitude. Its author made this suggestion to Wilson:

If we are bound to assist Panama in any righteous cause, we have the right to prevent Panama from involving us in any unrighteous cause. Hence it could be argued that if Panama should prove unable (or unwilling) to effectively restrain Castro from making Panaman territory the base of hostile operations against a

³³ Buchanan to Knox, Mar. 31, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/139. Knox referred this letter to his three assistants.

³⁴ Knox to Russell, Apr. 1, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/135. A more dispassionate statement appeared in a note from the department to the Secretary of the Navy dated April 9: "The relative strength of the Government of President Gómez and of the Castro faction in Venezuela is problematical and thus this Department has been unable to avoid anxiety as to what might ultimately result should Castro set foot on Venezuelan soil. Nevertheless, in view of the expressed intentions of the Venezuelan Government, the Department has not actually requested that Castro's exclusion from territory in the neighborhood of Venezuela should take the form of deportation to Europe—the course, however, which seems most free from elements of danger." (Wilson to Secretary of the Navy, Apr. 9, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/ between 153 and 154.) Two days before, Knox had telegraphed Russell: "Disquieting newspaper rumors that Gómez may allow Castro to regain control. Is the Government still quite certain to arrest him in accordance with the understanding upon which we have acted? . . . Unless this is certain it will be difficult for the Government of Venezuela to justify itself in not excluding Castro from Venezuelan territory." (Knox to Russell, Apr. 7, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/144.) Russell replied: "There is a decided sentiment against Castro and the men who are actually running the Government are his bitter enemies and are too much complicated now not to use every effort to prevent his return to power. . . . Administration controls Gómez and is decidedly anti-Castro." (Russell to Secretary of State [undated but rec. Apr. 9, 1909], *ibid.*, 3136/149.)

³⁵ Squiers to Secretary of State [undated but rec. Apr. 3, 1909], *ibid.*, 3136/140.

friendly state with which the United States are at peace, the United States has the right to step in and enforce Panaman duty in the premises.

Rumors, however, were soon dissipated by the reality of Castro's appearance in West Indian waters. It must have been with some relief that Washington learned of the British decision to forbid him to take refuge in Trinidad.³⁶

The limited nature of the documentation does not fully indicate the official tension, but the official record is supplemented by the newspaper press. As early as March 31 the *New York Times* was aware of the "close watch . . . being kept by the United States on the movement of former President Castro of Venezuela," but it wondered just how the United States was going "to deal with him in order to prevent him from overthrowing the arrangements made by this country with the new Government."³⁷ Britain had at first adopted her traditional attitude of allowing political refugees domicile in her territory so long as they did not make it a base of hostile operations against a friendly nation.³⁸ Just what Washington did to modify that attitude is apparently not a matter of official record, but a London news story printed in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* said that the British change in policy occurred after an urgent request from the United States and that it was considered "a friendly act to America and the other powers more directly interested in Venezuela."³⁹ The article further stated that it had not occurred to Great Britain at first that Castro would make Trinidad a base for revolutionary activity, but that as soon as the United States pointed it out as a probability the English took action.⁴⁰

The British government, in harmony with this new decision, informed its consuls in Martinique and Guadeloupe, points Castro was scheduled to touch prior to reaching Trinidad, of its decision to refuse the former president refuge in Trinidad and requested them to warn Castro of that fact.⁴¹

³⁶ Reid to Secretary of State, No. 388 [tel.], Apr. 6, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/142.

³⁷ *New York Times*, Mar. 31, 1909, p. 2.

³⁸ That this was the traditional English attitude cannot be doubted. See John Bassett Moore, *A Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1906), II, 428, and *Wheaton's Elements of International Law*, ed. by Coleman Phillipson (5th ed. in English; London, 1916), p. 193. The latter calls it "an almost universal rule" adding, however, that it does not hold "if the hospitality of a State is so abused . . . that the safety of its neighbors becomes impaired."

³⁹ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr. 7, 1909, p. 1. A *New York Times* dispatch from Trinidad also speaks of an "urgent" request. (See the issue of Apr. 7, 1909, p. 4.)

⁴⁰ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr. 7, 1909, p. 1. The statements, even in their naiveté, do nothing but corroborate the official story as it appears in the correspondence with Reid in London heretofore noted. Perhaps also that is all there is to the story, but it seems likely that there may have been some unrecorded conversations on one or both sides of the Atlantic. The problem of the diplomatic historian in respect to the probable incompleteness of the record is acknowledged by Henry F. Pringle in his discussion of Theodore Roosevelt's alleged ultimatum to the kaiser in December, 1902. (Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography* [New York, 1931], pp. 284-89.)

⁴¹ Russell to Secretary of State, Apr. 6, 1909 [tel.], Recs. Dept. of State, 3136/144.

He was so warned, it will be recalled, while at Point-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe.

As soon as they had been apprised of the action of Great Britain, the Venezuelans requested the United States to inform the French and "see if France will not take the same action in regard to her West Indies colonies where French vessel stops."⁴² The telegram from Russell containing this request was received in the late afternoon of April 6; Jusserand was told of the Venezuelan request on the following day, and a dispatch containing the same information and request was promptly cabled to Ambassador White in Paris.⁴³ The French government responded immediately. It acted that same afternoon. A telegram to Knox from White, sent and received April 8, 1909, read:

Your telegram yesterday: In communicating it to Foreign Office I have ascertained that Minister for the Colonies cabled Governor of Martinique last night to expel Castro from the island by the first steamer leaving for Europe and to particularly take care that he does not get aboard a steamer bound for any port in America.⁴⁴

On the whole, this step was pleasing to the French press, which seemed to enjoy the discomfiture of the "Napoleon of the Andes." *Liberté* stated that the French government had information regarding Castro's political and military plans which rendered his expulsion advisable. *Temps* said that Great Britain was consulted before the action was taken.⁴⁵

So Castro was to return to Europe. But the powers could not cease their watchfulness. Were Castro to elude them now the game might still be lost. There had always been for Castro potential bases of operations other than Trinidad, Martinique, or Venezuela itself. There were, for instance, Colombia, or Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, or the Danish West Indies.

Colombia seemed to be especially promising when a revolt against the government of that country broke out in the Goajira district, adjacent to that southwestern corner of Venezuela which had originally been Castro's home

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ White to Secretary of State, Apr. 8, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/147. Knox forwarded this pleasing information to Venezuela immediately. On the sixth S. Pichon had renewed the assurance already given to the United States that his government would have no objection to the arrest of Castro in La Guaira from off a French vessel and that in any case it was in accord with international law that a merchant vessel should be submitted, while in port, to the local jurisdiction. The Minister of Foreign Affairs even went so far as to add: "... if Mr. Castro should disembark in a French colony of the Antilles, the precautions necessary to prevent him from using territory of the Republic for fomenting troubles in Venezuela, would be taken." (This is as quoted in White to Secretary of State, Apr. 6, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/171-72.)

⁴⁵ The attitude of the French press was revealed in dispatches to the New York *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 9, 1909, p. 2. *Le Journal* was one paper which took exception, pointing out that Gómez was an usurper and that probably the United States was doing this in return for a settlement of sordid business affairs (*ibid.*).

and had always given him loyal support. It was probably with some anxiety, then, that the Colombian minister in Washington called on Huntington Wilson for a long conference in regard to the implications of this threat. A brother of Castro and some friends of the deposed despot were said to be implicated, and the United States took steps to keep close tab on the individuals concerned.⁴⁶ Huntington Wilson wrote in a memorandum covering the conversation with the Colombian diplomat: "It is interesting to reflect how the Governments of Venezuela and Colombia naturally turn to the United States as their friend when hard pressed in a case of this kind."⁴⁷

There were two possibilities in Panama: the Canal Zone and the Republic. The War Department, on April 6, had ordered the exclusion of Castro from the Canal Zone. Goethals had telegraphed from Culebra on the tenth that President José Domingo de Obaldia of Panama intended to allow Castro to land in the Republic of Panama if he tried to, but that he was going to keep a close watch on him with the purpose of banishing him if he took any steps to disturb the peace in Venezuela.⁴⁸ Secretary of War Dickinson had transmitted copies of this telegram to both the President and the Department of State. The next day Knox received the following note from Taft:

April 14, 1909

MY DEAR SECRETARY:

You have seen the confidential telegram from Goethals. I think I could, by a special telegram to Obaldia, induce him to exclude Castro if you think it important.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) WM. H. TAFT⁴⁹

With Castro's exclusion from the Caribbean and with his forced return to France the danger described by Goethals passed and no action was taken on the President's suggestion. But this note from Taft is impressive evidence of the determination of the government of the United States to prevent Castro from regaining power in Venezuela.

Ex-president Castro was reportedly friendly with José Santos Zelaya of Nicaragua and may have planned to visit the Nicaraguan dictator if necessary. But had he gone farther in that direction on the *Guadeloupe* it would have been by way of La Guaira, and he probably would have been arrested at that port. As it was, of course, he did not get even that far.

⁴⁶ Isaac A. Manning, American consul at Cartagena, to State Department, No. 318, Apr. 10, 1909, Recs. Dept. of State, 3136/177 and Memorandum, Apr. 3, 1909, 3136/151-52. The Navy was also requested to inform the department through its legations, if Castro landed on the South American littoral near to Venezuela. (Wilson to Secretary of the Navy, Apr. 9, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/between 153 and 154.)

⁴⁷ Memorandum, Apr. 3, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/151-52.

⁴⁸ Secretary of War to the Secretary of State, Apr. 13, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/160-61.

⁴⁹ Taft to Knox, Apr. 14, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/166-68.

It may have been similar reasons and delay in communications that caused the State Department to ignore a report from Minister William Lawrence Merry to the effect that Castro was scheduled to disembark at Port Limón, Costa Rica.⁵⁰

It is possible that the United States made some representations to Copenhagen regarding Castro and the Danish West Indies. There is nothing in the official record to support this, but several news stories point in that direction. At least they indicate that Denmark was on the alert. After it had become clear that Castro could not stay in Fort-de-France, rumors had begun to arise that he might go to St. Thomas. At this point a Copenhagen news story had reported the Danes as saying that they had not officially heard of any such rumors and that therefore they had no policy concerning their content. Neither had Venezuela asked them to forbid such a move on Castro's part.⁵¹ Two other news stories had brought the United States into the picture. The first may have been pure conjecture, at least there is no supporting evidence in the records of the State Department; the second presumably was based on fact. From Copenhagen on April 10 came the following item: "The United States has approached Denmark regarding the possible expulsion of Cipriano Castro from St. Thomas." The second story read: "St. Thomas, D. W. I., April 10—The battleship *Maine* came into port today. She will remain here about five days to give the crew shore liberty."⁵² Perhaps this last was just a coincidence, but it accorded remarkably with United States policy. The following dispatch from Copenhagen, however, inspires confidence by the nature of its content:

Copenhagen, April 11.—The government has instructed the Governor of the Danish West Indies under no circumstances to permit ex-President Castro to land in that territory. These instructions were issued in response to a cable dispatch from the colonial officials asking what measures they should take in case of Castro's attempting to make his residence at any of those ports.⁵³

The Netherlands government, once it had informed the State Department of Castro's proposed return to Venezuela, had ceased to participate in

⁵⁰ W. L. Merry to Knox, Apr. 2, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/165. The note was not received until April 15, which was beyond the danger date. On April 16 Merry apologized for sending incorrect information (3136/175-76.)

⁵¹ New York *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 10, 1909, p. 2. The Copenhagen dispatch is dated April 9.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Apr. 11, 1909, p. 2. On April 7 (p. 4) the Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* had written: "No overtures have been made to Denmark, but it is considered practically assured that if Castro does land on St. Thomas the Danish Government will join the other nations in refusing him shelter."

⁵³ New York *Times*, Apr. 12, 1909, p. 4, and New York *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 12, 1909, p. 2. The story fits in with the trend of events already noted and could as easily represent independent Danish attitude as it could further machinations of the government of the United States.

the drama (so far as either the State Department or the newspaper record indicates). A plausible reason is not hard to find. In view of the strained and even disrupted relations between the Netherlands and Venezuela, brought about in large part by the actions of Castro himself, it seems inconceivable that the exiled dictator, even with his conceit, could have imagined that he would have been allowed on either Aruba or Curaçao for the purpose of plotting a *coup d'état* against his successor;⁵⁴ and, besides, the *Guadeloupe* was not scheduled to call at Dutch territory.⁵⁵ Reports suggested that the United States had exchanged views with the Netherlands, but whether these refer to the Royaards note of March 27 and its acknowledgment or to something else is not clear.⁵⁶

In any case Castro, the outcast, could find no refuge in the New World. The combination of powers against him had been overwhelming. The story of his short stay at Martinique and of his expulsion from the island can hardly be told more succinctly than in the words of Jacques D. Schnegg, United States vice and deputy consul there. The *Guadeloupe* had arrived at Fort-de-France on April 6 about nine o'clock in the evening. Castro, his brother Carmelo, and a male servant disembarked the following morning; his wife, sister, and brother-in-law continued on the voyage with the intention of landing at La Guaira. "Ex-President Castro," reported Mr. Schnegg,

although looking tired and preoccupied was quite lively on the day of his landing and took a walk early in the morning of April 8th.

Then suddenly he took to his bed a little later on the same morning and from that moment denied himself to all callers, while his brother, who claimed to be a doctor, stated that General Castro was ill, the incision made for the operation in Berlin having opened for about three inches; the temperature being feverish and the patient not being able to take any solid food.

Meanwhile the Governor of Martinique had asked for instructions from the French Government and received answer that Mr. Castro should be ordered off Martinique as quickly as possible.

As the French Transatlantic liner "Versailles" back from Colon, Columbian [*sic*] and Venezuelan ports was due at Fort-de-France on April 10th. in the morning, Mr. Castro was notified officially to get ready to embark on that steamer.

This he refused to do, stating he was not fit to undertake the trip, being ill.

In the morning of April 10th the Governor requested Dr. Bouvier, the foremost doctor of the island, to examine Mr. Castro with a view of sending him to

⁵⁴ There had been a much more bitter and personal aspect to that quarrel than to the one between Castro and France.

⁵⁵ Navy to State Department, Mar. 31, 1909, Recs. Dept. of State, 3136/133.

⁵⁶ Wilson to Secretary of Navy, Apr. 9, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/between 153 and 154, and New York Times, Apr. 7, 1909, p. 4, "It was acknowledged at the State Department today that this Government had exchanged views with the Governments of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela with reference to the action to be pursued in the case of Castro."

the military hospital if he was really quite sick or to oblige him to take the "Versailles" bound for France via Guadeloupe.

Dr. Bouvier reported that Mr. Castro was in a condition to travel, but owing to a protest made by the Hotel keeper who is a local politician, by some of his friends, backed also by a teacher of the local Lyceum who had been a fellow traveller of Mr. Castro on the "Guadeloupe" and testified that Mr. Castro was quite sick during the voyage and that he had suffered from bleeding, the Governor, to avoid all responsibility, named a commission of three doctors, Dr. Bouvier and two others, who called on Mr. Castro and examined him.

The "Versailles" which was to sail at 6 pm was held by the Governor, and as soon as the three doctors sent their report to the Governor that Mr. Castro was fit to embark, the police who were watching the hotel summoned Mr. Castro to dress and go on board immediately.

He refused even to dress and he was taken from his bed, clothed in underwear, put on a stretcher, carried under escort of the police on board of the "Versailles" laying [*sic*] at her wharf and ten minutes later, at 9 pm of April 10th, the steamer sailed for Guadeloupe. Mr. Castro was accompanied by his brother and servant.

The cruiser "North Carolina", commander Marshall, arrived on April 10th at 3 pm and as requested by the Captain, who had received instructions from the Navy Department, I did my best to cooperate with him.

I acquainted Commander Marshall with all the facts I knew and kept him posted about the last movements of General Castro, which were confirmed in the interview we had with the Governor of Martinique in the morning of April 11th.⁵⁷

For a few days following the fateful tenth the United States Navy kept watch over the *Versailles* to see that Castro did not debark while that ship was making its way out of the Antilles.⁵⁸ Then, on April 14, Knox wrote Secretary Meyer as follows:

. . . This Department is under great obligation to your Department for its assistance in the observation of Señor Castro's movements. It is now of the opinion, however, that the recent reason for retaining any ships in the Southern West Indies and off the coast of Venezuela entirely disappears when the ship on which Señor Castro has sailed is finally cleared for a European port.⁵⁹

Gómez and the powers had thwarted Señor Castro. The return from Elba had been prevented.

It must have been flattering as well as exasperating to the ex-dictator to have been the object of such international concern.⁶⁰ He perhaps did not know it at the time, but the American press revealed that President Taft's cabinet made Castro's plans a subject of discussion at its meetings and that

⁵⁷ Schnegg to Assistant Secretary of State, Apr. 13, 1909, Recs. Dept. of State, 3136/173. The dispatch was endorsed from the Second Assistant Secretary to Mr. Wilson: "I am afraid Mr. Castro in his 'illness' was playing to the galleries. He is pretty clever."

⁵⁸ Meyer to Secretary of State, Apr. 12, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/157.

⁵⁹ Knox to Secretary of Navy, Apr. 14, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/163.

⁶⁰ Observation made by the *New York Times*, Apr. 8, 1909, p. 10.

Taft and Secretary Knox had privately been conferring about him.⁶¹ Taft even made one public utterance regarding the deposed warrior, in which he is reported to have told the press that he considered Castro an "international outlaw" and that as such he should receive scant courtesy from the powers.⁶²

Señora Castro's movements after she was separated from her husband at Fort-de-France were watched with equal vigilance. Schnegg reported that when the *Guadeloupe* left that port the U.S.S. *Montana* followed in its wake.⁶³ The U.S.S. *Paducah* kept watch at La Guaira,⁶⁴ where the Venezuelans took every precaution to keep Señora Castro from landing. The *Guadeloupe* was forced to anchor twenty feet off the dock and only a few authorized personnel were allowed to approach the steamer. A small committee of local authorities went aboard to check the passenger lists and baggage manifests and interview Mrs. Castro, who seemed to take her prohibition from landing with somewhat more dignity than her husband had been able to summon earlier.⁶⁵ Following the suggestion of April 14 from Knox to Meyer that the Navy no longer need keep watch over Castro, vessels of the United States Navy ceased to shadow the *Guadeloupe*. Señora Castro made no attempts to land at any point in America and soon rejoined her husband in Europe.⁶⁶

Although no one spot can be considered Castro's St. Helena, he was from this time until his death fifteen years later an international outcast, a man without a country. From France he went to Spain, and in July, 1911, he was said to have made a second futile attempt to regain power in Venezuela. Near the end of 1912 he arrived at the port of New York and, after a brief detention by the immigration authorities, was allowed to enter the United States. It was reported that he attended the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson early the next year but returned to Europe shortly thereafter. It was rumored in July, 1913, that he had seized the Venezuelan town of Coro, and early in 1914 it was said that he was in Trinidad. In July of the following year it was reported that he had been expelled from the Dutch West Indies. In the summer of 1916 he and his wife spent some time in New York and then left for Puerto Rico to establish a permanent residence in San Juan. Since this probably required the permission of the United States government, it leads to the

⁶¹ Chicago *Daily Tribune*, Apr. 8, 1909, p. 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Apr. 10, 1909, p. 5.

⁶³ Schnegg to Assistant Secretary of State, Apr. 13, 1909, Recs. Dept. of State, 3136/173.

⁶⁴ Meyer to Secretary of State, Apr. 12, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/154.

⁶⁵ Herman F. Betew, American Vice-Consul at La Guaira, to State Department, No. 200, Apr. 15, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/174. See also, Russell to Secretary of State, [tel.], Apr. 11, 1909, 3136/150.

⁶⁶ Squiers to Secretary of State, Apr. 14, 1909, *ibid.*, 3136/159 and 3136/164; Herbert R. Wright, American Consul at Puerto Cabello, to Secretary of State, Apr. 24, 1909, 3136/180.

speculation that the exile was still being kept under close scrutiny by the Washington authorities. In August, 1917, he is said to have visited Cuba and Mexico; in the following September he was in New York again; and late in October he is reported to have been in Trinidad. Then his wanderings appear to have ceased. He seems to have been content to stay in San Juan. The mantle of obscurity covers his next seven years, until in July, 1924, according to rumor, an attempt was made to assassinate him. True or false, the course of his life was almost run out. On the fourth of the following December death put an end to the turbulent career of the bold little tyrant who had disturbed the chancelleries of the leading powers for nearly a decade and had been consigned by them to the role of "man without a country" for another decade and a half. He is said to have died a natural death in a shabby little house in the slums of the Puerto Rican capital. In reporting his demise the *New York Times* recalled his erratic, cruel, and exasperating rule at Caracas, his lack of education, his sudden rise from poverty to wealth, his extravagant spending of his fortune. "Such," concluded the journalist, "was the Andean cattle thief who put his country in his pocket and drank champagne as he laughed at the foreign offices."⁶⁷

The Castro affair of 1909 afforded a remarkable display of unanimity in both sentiment and action on the part of the great powers, and on the part of certain small powers as well. The original and spontaneous attitude of all of them had been to do nothing to interfere with Venezuela's attempt to arrest Cipriano Castro and bring him to trial for political murder, but an exchange of views with the British, French, Dutch, Colombian, and Panaman governments developed the common conviction that Castro's return to Venezuela in any circumstances would be fraught with the danger of an ultimate reversion to the intolerable regime of earlier years.⁶⁸ None of the interested governments had any desire to see this happen.

Strictly speaking, their actions were illegal. Castro was able to do what he so frequently had been able to do before—to keep the forms of justice on his side. Technically he was in the right. Technically his enemies were in the wrong. As a private citizen of a nation at peace with the various powers concerned he merely wished to return home. He had committed no overt acts of violence against his government. When informed that Venezuela had preferred murder charges against him he made a show of welcoming the opportunity to stand trial and to clear his name.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Dec. 14, 1924. This summary of Castro's activities during his long exile is based largely on the same newspaper, which publishes an excellent index. For a summary of the dictator's political career, see J. Fred Rippy in A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *South American Dictators*, pp. 410-18.

⁶⁸ Such are almost the exact words used by Wilson in his note to Secretary Meyer of April 9.

⁶⁹ The *New York Times*, whose editorial policy throughout the affair might be described as

On the other hand, a certain rough sense of equity was served by his exclusion.⁷⁰ Castro had ignored the fine points of justice in his dealings with foreign powers far too long to insist on their observance by those powers now in his own case. By his various international escapades while president of Venezuela he had forfeited his right to rule. And even if it be charged that the ends never justify the means and that the powers were in the wrong in thus acting in concert against him, at least it must be admitted that the attitude of the United States and the other nations, in view of all the trouble he had caused them over the years, is not difficult to understand. This was another instance of dollar diplomacy in action, much less complicated and far less expensive than the joint use of force by the European powers against Castro in 1902-1903 but completely effective. Gómez became a tyrant more greedy and cruel, if possible, than Castro, but he was never an international nuisance.

University of Chicago

critical of the United States but not pro-Castro, mused at length: "Again has that particularly able brigand, Cipriano Castro, managed to put himself at least technically in the right and his enemies and victims at least technically in the wrong. So often has he done the same thing that it is hard to keep in mind the underlying enormities of his career as a ruler—difficult to suppress the feeling that, after all, he is about what a big man in his time and place would have to be and that there is not much to choose between him and those who, after vainly using the weapons with which he is so skillful, clamor angrily for his suppression by outside powers. . . .

"When Castro sailed away from Venezuela none disputed his right to remain, the adequacy of his reasons for going, or hinted that his welcome back would not be as cordial as the elaborate farewells that marked his departure. Hardly was he below the horizon before the men who never dared to peep in his presence used the power which he had entrusted to them as a means to overturn his Government and reverse his policies—much more certainly to their own advantage than to that of Venezuela. At first they contented themselves with telling the terrible things they would do to him if he returned, but when he announced that all he wanted was a fair trial on definite charges, and calmly went to buy a ticket for La Guayra, he found that these bold foes, in evident panic at the very thought of the little man's landing alone on the wharf, had persuaded the steamship company not to carry him to any Venezuelan port!

"Well might Castro jeer at the French for enduring such a limitation of their passenger trade, since no law barred him from the country of which he is plainly the most eminent citizen, and well may the rest of the world laugh at the Gómez administration, which, with all the machinery of Government in its hands, is so comically afraid of what would happen if the deposed dictator were to have a chance to appeal to the people who are supposed to hate him so bitterly." (See the issue of Mar. 29, 1909, p. 6.)

⁷⁰ This view, which even the critical *New York Times* sometimes put forward, was expressed by the *New York Daily Tribune* as follows (after stating that on the surface there appeared to be no reason why Great Britain and the United States should act against Castro): "In fact, however, the act is a commendable piece of equity for the abatement of an international nuisance. Mr. Castro has for years been a notorious troubler of the peace of the world, with a peculiar faculty of making himself appear to be technically in the right when he is morally altogether in the wrong. . . . In barring him out of Trinidad and in desiring him to be thus barred, Great Britain and the United States doubtless serve their own interests. They do not want a disorderly house next door to their own dwellings. It is to their interest to have in Venezuela a legitimate, orderly and well-disposed government. But they are equally serving the interests of Venezuela and of other countries. Men and nations sometimes make of themselves international nuisances, and in the suppression of nuisances general principles of sense and equity are more to be regarded than narrow technicalities." (See the issue of Apr. 8, 1909, p. 6.)

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Andrew Jackson, Strikebreaker*

RICHARD B. MORRIS

LABOR authorities generally cite the railroad strikes of 1877 as the "first" instance in American history of the calling out of federal troops to intervene in a labor dispute.¹ But the dubious distinction of being the first executive to dispatch federal troops to a strike area has erroneously been conferred upon President Hayes. Some forty-three years before he took such action, "Old Hickory," labor's true friend according to the portrait limned by twentieth century historians, sent federal troops into Maryland to restrain discontented workmen.

The circumstances which called forth President Jackson's hitherto unpublished military order written in his own hand stemmed from difficulties with the Irish laborers recruited for the construction projects on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The belligerent activities of this immigrant labor group in the canal and railroad fields foreshadowed by almost a generation the lawless practices of the "Molly Maguires." Normally, strikes and threats of strikes by Irish construction workers could be brought under control by a sheriff's posse or state troops, ringleaders were summarily jailed when identified, and the animosity of Yankee and German laborers to their competitors from the Emerald Isle was capitalized to keep construction projects moving. On occasion Maryland residents even took vigilante action and cleared their communities of all Irish labor, going so far as to tear down the workers' shanties.

The specific labor incident on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal project which provoked the unprecedented intervention of the federal government originated near Williamsport, Maryland, around January 16, 1834. Although contemporary newspaper accounts failed to establish the cause of the disturbance, it is now perfectly clear that the conflict was not the result of irresponsible gang warfare or senseless feuding between North of Ireland

*This study is a segment of a broader investigation into the nature of labor controls in the slave states, made possible by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

¹ Declared John B. Andrews (John R. Commons, *History of Labour in the United States* [New York, 1918], II, 190): "This was the first time in the history of the American labour movement that Federal troops were called out in time of peace to suppress strikers." See also Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism* (New York, 1922), pp. 58-60; Herbert Harris, *American Labor* (New Haven, 1939), p. 230.

laborers and men of Cork but was provoked by serious labor grievances on the line of the canal. While playing up the story as an "affray" and "a war among the workmen," the Hagerstown *Torchlight* attributed "the cause of the difficulty" to "either the suspension of work, or of payment, on one or more sections of the canal."² Niles laid "the cause of the outrage" to "dissatisfaction about their pay."³ The best-informed eyewitness, Thomas F. Purcell, resident engineer for the canal company, who was the chief mediator with the striking workers, attributed the conflict to a struggle over the closed shop. Unlike other clashes, both before and subsequent to this incident, arising from a reduction of wages or the not uncommon failure of contractors to meet payrolls, Purcell considered the disturbance to be "the result of a regular organization for that purpose, the ultimate object being to expel from the canal all except those that belong to the strongest party and thus secure for the remainder higher wages."⁴

Laborers from Cork, organized in a secret, semimilitary labor society,⁵ sought to keep interloping Irishmen from Longford from competing with them for jobs on the canal. By barring outsiders and thus extinguishing a surplus labor market, the victors would in effect be able to dictate their own terms. Immediately, then, as Purcell reported to the president and directors, "the quarrel had nothing to do with money transactions," although he cautioned that "difficulties of such a nature may hereafter, if they occur, excite to similar occurrences."⁶

That Irish laborers, recently arrived from a land where militant trade unionism and the terrorist tactics of Whiteboyism were commonplace and

² Hagerstown *Torchlight*, Jan. 23, 1834 (Maryland Historical Society).

³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XLV, 366 (Jan. 25, 1834).

⁴ Thomas F. Purcell to J. P. Ingle, Jan. 23, 1834, Records of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co., Letters Received, Dept. of the Interior Archives, National Archives.

⁵ Accusations that Irish laborers formed "an unholy league," had entered into "secret associations," and concealed the lawless acts of fellow members were also raised in connection with the violent strikes against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in November of that same year. *Niles' Register*, XLVII, 177 (Nov. 21, 1834). In 1836, George Bender, a canal commissioner, charged that the Irish laborers had, in the town of Hancock, "a regularly organized society," which was a branch of the New York organization. That, in turn, he asserted, had "branches in all the States where internal improvements are in progress." In speaking of the society, he declared, men "talk in whispers and inuendoes." Midnight beatings, often fatal, were administered to "Dutch" and country-born competitors. Contractors who testified against labor incorrigibles were chief targets for recrimination. George Bender to George C. Washington, President C. & O. Canal Co., Nov. 17, 1836, Dept. of Interior Archives. By that date the American branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians had been chartered in New York. For the relationship of this order to the later "Molly Maguires," see James W. Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots* (Richmond, 1936), p. 35. Further data on the difficulty of successfully prosecuting strikers because of the refusal of Irish laborers to testify against each other was forwarded to the Maryland House of Delegates by C. B. Fisk, chief engineer of the company. C. B. Fisk, report, Feb. 5, 1838, in reply to the "enquiry" of the Committee on Ways and Means of the Maryland House of Delegates, Dept. of Interior Archives.

⁶ Purcell to President and Board of Directors, Jan. 29, 1834, *ibid.*

sectional feuds traditional, would seek to enforce the closed shop, even as against other Irishmen, should come as no surprise to students of the Irish labor movement. In contemporary Ireland townsmen were vigilantly organized to prevent evicted farmers from competing with them for jobs. Workers in "rebel Cork" had time and again served threatening notices on Kerry men working in their county. Cork coopers would not allow country coopers to work in town. Men of King's County had dealt similarly with interloping Connaughtmen, and in County Kildare combinations were known to have been formed "to prevent the hiring of strangers for the harvest works and to fix a rate of wages." Not in the skilled crafts alone but even among laborers working on the roads were combinations for economic ends effected in contemporary Cork, and in County Longford boatmen on the canals were renowned for their terroristic tactics. Fatalities were not exceptional in Irish trade union clashes where interlopers and "colts" were reckless enough to challenge established labor organizations.⁷ It should be noted, too, that violent action against interlopers was not unfamiliar to the American labor tradition, as well.⁸

The motives of the 1834 strike become clearer in the light of similar contests on the canal renewed exactly two years later and more prolonged in duration. Chief Engineer C. B. Fisk reported that the Irish laborers would not permit outside masons to work on the line, a prohibition which generally applied against both German and native workmen. Even Irishmen on the line who would not "submit to the dictation of a tyrannical secret party organization, which for the last two years has been entirely beyond the reach of the law," were driven off the canal by their countrymen. This closed shop had been effective, Fisk admitted, "in keeping up the high price of labor upon our canal," in keeping down the supply of labor below demand, and in providing "an inferior class of workmen."⁹

First news of labor trouble reached Hagerstown on Monday, January 20.

⁷ See Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, "Reports from Committees—Artizans and Machinery," V (1824), 152, 153, 283-99, 421-70; *ibid.*, "State of Ireland," IV (1825), *passim*. Cf. also William P. Ryan, *The Irish Labour Movement* (Dublin, 1919), pp. 24, 25, 61, 62, 85, 101, 104, 105; George O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine* (London, 1921), pp. 387, 394, 395, 399; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (rev. ed., London, 1926), pp. 104, 472 n., 473 n. The C. & O. Canal strike has many points of similarity with a Canadian canal workers' strike some nine years later, in the course of which troops were called out to maintain order between Corkonians and men from the North of Ireland. See H. C. Pentland, "The Lachine Strike of 1843," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX (September, 1948), 258, 260-64; *Parliamentary Papers* (1843), No. 291, p. 68.

⁸ See Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), pp. 147-52.

⁹ "To all intents and purposes," Fisk charged, the contractors were under the control of the workers "since they were afraid to give them directions contrary to their will." C. B. Fisk, report, Feb. 5, 1838.

Disturbances had broken out near Williamsport some four days earlier, for the details of which we are indebted to a reporter for the Williamsport *Republican Banner* of January 18. The incident which touched off the riot was a fatal beating administered on Thursday, January 16, to a Fardoun laborer named John Irons. The line was thrown into "a state of alarm," both sides took warlike preparations, and work virtually stopped. The Corkonians began committing excesses along the line of the canal and were met at the aqueduct and driven back by an opposing party of Irishmen in Williamsport. Then the citizens of that community organized themselves into a number of militia companies, and remained under arms for the balance of the day and the greater part of the night.

Peace was shortlived. The twentieth and twenty-first were bloody days. A party of some three hundred Fardouns or Longfords, armed with guns, helms, or clubs, joined up at the aqueduct with some three or four hundred more of the same organization. On a field near the upper dam they met three hundred men of Cork, "armed, in part, with military weapons." Overwhelmed by superiority of numbers, the Corkonians were routed, but not without serious casualties. According to the *Republican Banner*, "persons who traversed the field after the battle was over observed five men in the agonies of death, who had been shot through the head; several dead bodies were seen in the woods, and a number of wounded in every direction." The casualties were entirely among the Corkonians. According to Purcell the attack was centered on "the hands engaged on Sects. 170, 171 and 172" of the canal, and "several shanties were torn down"—evidence of a purpose to rid the line of the rival laborers. News of full-scale warfare on the canal resulted in the reinforcement of the local militia companies by two voluntary military companies head by Colonel William H. Fitzhugh, sheriff of the county. With the quick cessation of hostilities, the militia returned to Hagerstown on Tuesday, taking with them thirty-four of the rioters who were committed to jail.¹⁰

Despite military intervention, "panic" had spread throughout "the whole line" and, according to Purcell, "the work" was "nearly stopped." On January 27 intermediaries succeeded in persuading the contending parties to ap-

¹⁰ Purcell to Ingle, Jan. 23, 1834; Hagerstown *Torchlight*, Jan. 23, 30, 1834, quoting from Williamsport *Republican Banner*; *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 28, 1834; *Niles' Register*, LV, 382, 383 (Feb. 1, 1834). "Much credit is due to our citizen soldiers for the alacrity with which they obeyed the call for their services, and for the promptitude with which they marched for the scene of action" was the *Torchlight's* observation in the January 23 account. On later occasions the citizen militiamen were much less eager to be involved in labor disputes on the line of the canal. Further accounts of the strike are found in *Niles' Register*, XLV, 399 (Feb. 8, 1834); *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 30, Feb. 4, 1834; Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, Md., 1906), pp. 223 *et seq.*

point deputies to adjust their differences and to conclude what the Hagerstown *Torchlight* called "a treaty of peace." The deputies, according to that paper, were chosen "by their assembled countrymen in the various contracts" and were fully empowered to adjust outstanding grievances. Together with the magistrates "and some of the gentlemen of Williamsport" they met that evening at Lyles's tavern. General Otho H. Williams, serving as chairman of the meeting, urged upon the deputies the necessity of a speedy reconciliation, and Thomas Purcell, resident engineer, acting as secretary, then drafted an agreement, to which was attached a recognizance to keep the peace. The agreement, to which twenty-eight laborers, fourteen from each side, attached their signatures in the presence of two justices of the peace, read as follows:

Whereas great commotions and divers riotous acts have resulted from certain misunderstandings and alleged grievances, mutually urged by two parties of laborers and mechanics, engaged on the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, and natives of Ireland; the one commonly known as the Longford men, the others as the Corkonians; and whereas it has been found that these riotous acts are calculated to disturb the public peace, without being in the least degree beneficial to the parties opposed to each other, but on the contrary are productive of great injury and distress to the workmen and their families—

Therefore, we, the undersigned, representatives of each party, have agreed to, and do pledge ourselves to support and carry into effect the following terms of the agreement:

We agree, for ourselves, that we will not, either individually or collectively, interrupt, or suffer to be interrupted in our presence, any person engaged on the line of the canal, for or on account of a local difference or national prejudice, and that we will use our influence to destroy all these matters of difference growing out of this distinction of parties, known as Corkonians and Longfords; and we further agree and pledge ourselves in the most solemn manner, to inform on and bring to justice, any person or persons who may break the pledge contained in this agreement, either by interrupting any person passing along or near the line of canal, or by secretly counselling or assisting any person or persons who may endeavor to excite riotous conduct among the above parties; and we further bind ourselves to the State of Maryland, each in the sum of twenty dollars, to keep the peace towards the citizens of the state. In witness thereof, we have hereunto signed our names, at Williamsport this 27th day of January, 1834.

With biting sarcasm but with a good deal of historical justification, *Niles' Register* referred to the "treaty" as "somewhat of a novelty in diplomatic history," and as "constituting a precedent which may be advantageously resorted to in civil wars in all time to come." General Williams then warned the signers "that in case the agreement was violated, it was the determination of the citizens and the military to unite with the opposite side and drive entirely from the county the party who were guilty of the infraction."

Purcell, who had "been so constantly on duty, say from early in the

morning untill very late at night" that he had not been able to do any more than send a dispatch to the president of the company, reported that the works had "not received any violence" from the men during "the excitement." Writing on the twenty-ninth that "peace is now apparently restored," he cautioned that "so deeply rooted is the hatred of the one party to the other, that I cannot flatter myself that it will be of long continuance."¹¹ Even before he wrote this letter word had reached General Williams that a party of one hundred armed Corkonians had passed Harper's Ferry and were on their way to reinforce their undermanned forces at Middlekauff's dam. They were intercepted by a force of militia, and, upon being acquainted with the terms of the agreement, they surrendered their arms and returned to work farther down the river. Then the forty prisoners in the Hagerstown jail were released on their own recognizance.

Despite the temporary cessation of hostilities the local authorities were seriously alarmed by the events of the past ten days and forwarded a request to Annapolis for "a sufficient regular force" to be sent to Williamsport and stationed there "or at other suitable points along the line of the canal to preserve order among the laborers, and for purposes of general protection." Rising in the house of delegates on January 28, Dr. Wharton, a delegate from Washington County, read a letter from the citizens of Williamsport complaining that their lives and property were in danger, that the civil authorities of the county were unable to afford them protection, and that the opposing forces numbered seven or eight hundred men on each side, many armed "with warlike weapons." Wharton then offered a resolution requesting the President of the United States to intervene. At this point the reportorial accuracy of Niles's paper was found wanting, for the *Register* observed that Wharton's resolution asking the President to send military aid was turned down by the state senate, which substituted a resolution authorizing the governor to call out the state militia.

Had Niles been correct, Jackson, in intervening, would have clearly been culpable of an unconstitutional act, for the President's authority to intervene stems from Article IV, Section IV, of the Constitution, authorizing the United States to take measures to protect the states "against domestic violence," specifically on the application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, and from the congressional act of February 28, 1795, as amended by the act of March 8, 1807, authorizing the President to call forth the militia or the federal land and naval forces to suppress an insurrection in any state under the same conditions as provided

¹¹ Purcell to President and Board of Directors, Jan. 29, 1834.

for in the Constitution. By "legislature" both houses of a bicameral body were clearly implied. For Jackson to have acted without receiving a request from both houses would have been to have taken a stand comparable to President Hayes in 1877, when he ordered troops into certain states upon quite informal requests of governors and without assurances that the legislatures could not be convened.¹²

The misunderstanding on the part of Niles's reporter resulted from the fact that the Maryland legislature passed two separate resolutions, one calling upon the President of the United States for military aid¹³ and a second, on the same day, requesting the governor "to call out such portion of the militia of the state, as he may deem necessary for the immediate suppression" of the "riot among the laborers."¹⁴ Just five weeks later the legislature felt impelled to request the governor to call out a portion of the militia because "the labourers on the sixth section of the Baltimore and Washington Rail Road are in a riotous state."¹⁵ Symptomatic, too, of the general tightening of labor controls was the passage at the same session of the legislature of a law authorizing the extension of the term of service of absconding runaway Negroes and mulattoes "held to labor for a term of years," or the sale of the unexpired terms of such contract breakers in or out of the state.¹⁶

On January 28, 1834, the very same day the resolutions were passed, Governor James Thomas addressed in his own hand the following communication to the President:

TO ANDREW JACKSON ESQUIRE
President of the United States.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward to you the within Resolutions of the General Assembly of this State, and respectfully ask your prompt attention to them.

With great respect,

Your ob^t Serv^t

(signed) JAMES THOMAS

The attached resolutions differed in only minor degree from those subsequently printed in the *Session Laws*.

¹² F. T. Wilson, "Federal Aid in Domestic Disturbances, 1787-1903," 57 Cong., 2 sess., Sen. Doc. 209. (Washington, 1903), p. 196; Edward S. Corwin, *The President, Office and Powers* (New York, 1940), pp. 170, 171.

¹³ House of Delegates and Senate Journals, Jan. 28, 1834, Hall of Records, Annapolis. *Laws of Maryland, 1833* (Annapolis, 1834), resolution No. 11, which corresponds exactly with the resolution as it was recorded in the proceedings of the House.

¹⁴ The call for federal troops was introduced into the House by Dr. Wharton on January 28 and into the Senate on the very same day by Mr. Sappington. House of Delegates and Senate Journal, Jan. 28, 1834; *Laws of Maryland, 1833*, resolution No. 56.

¹⁵ Passed Mar. 4, 1834; *Laws, 1833*, resolution No. 45.

¹⁶ *Laws, 1833*, chap. 224 (Mar. 14, 1834). For the enforcement of labor legislation of this

Whereas it has been represented to this General Assembly, that there has been, and there is strong reason to believe there will be again, riotous Assemblages of the labourers¹⁷ at or near Williamsport in Washington County, in which Several lives have been lost, and serious apprehensions are entertained that injury will be done to the persons and property of the Citizens¹⁸ of that Town and neighbourhood.

And whereas it has been represented that the civil authority is incompetent to quell said rioters, and that the militia in that neighbourhood is insufficient to subdue and Keep in Subjection said rioters.

And whereas considerable delay must result from a reliance upon the Militia in other parts of the State, for aid in the present exigency, Therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the President of the United States, be and he is hereby requested to order on to Williamsport, such portion of the Military of the General Government, as in his opinion may be necessary to protect our Citizens and prevent any injury to the public works and the property of individuals in that neighbourhood.

And be it further resolved, That the Governor be and he is hereby requested to forward a copy of the above resolution by express to the President of the United States.

By order

[signed] L. GASSAWAY Cl.

We certify that the above is a true Copy of the Preamble and resolutions passed by both Houses of the Legislature at the December Session 1833.

[signed] L. GASSAWAY Cl Ho Del

Md

[signed] Jos. H. NICHOLSON Clk. Senate Md.

The governor's request was endorsed in President Jackson's hand as follows:

The Secretary of War will forthwith order such military as will be able to aid the civil authority of Maryland to put down the riotous assembly named within—at least two companies of regulars with as much expedition as possible.

A.J.

Janry 29th
1834¹⁹

One unusual circumstance may, perhaps, explain the celerity with which Jackson, ever the man of impulse, intervened on this occasion. The summer preceding the strike the president of the company, Charles F. Mercer, had been replaced by a renowned Jacksonian in order to win the favor of the national administration.²⁰ The new president of the company, who found him-

type, see R. B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the 19th Century," *Journal of Southern History*, XIV (August, 1948), 385-400.

¹⁷ "On the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal" appears in the printed resolution.

¹⁸ The phrase, "of the citizens," does not appear in the printed resolves.

¹⁹ Records of the War Department, Office of the Secretary of War, T-Misc. 1834, National Archives.

²⁰ See Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (Baltimore, 1946), p. 103.

self suddenly confronted with serious labor trouble impeding the construction program, was none other than John H. Eaton, former Secretary of War, and Jackson's bosom friend. Erstwhile member of the Kitchen Cabinet and rival of Van Buren for Jackson's political favor, Peggy O'Neil Eaton's husband was in some quarters believed to have been the most influential of the President's closest advisers in those years.

Both Eaton and his subordinates firmly believed that federal troops should be kept on the line as long as possible to break up this incorrigible labor organization. On the very day that Jackson ordered United States troops dispatched to the canal, Purcell wrote: "By preserving a military force on the line, at all times ready to march, these people may be awed into obedience of the laws, and they will transfer the scene of their warfare to some other place."²¹ Eaton was even more forthright. Writing to several of the directors on January 31, Jackson's friend declared:

The turning off from the works any large number of hands, must necessarily bring about riotous feeling; and even riotous action. While the U. S. troops are in the neighborhood, a dismissal may be made without these apprehensions. Consider then, if prudence should not prompt to the discharge of *every one* who has been engaged in this recent riot: the tendency may be, and no doubt will be, to restrain all such lawless conduct in future.²²

Eaton's demand that federal troops be kept on the line to coerce the strikers takes on special significance when it is borne in mind that the United States troops remained encamped on the line throughout the winter of 1834. In this incident, then, Jackson exhibited none of the caution which characterized President Wilson's action in 1914 when he ordered troops to the Colorado mines. On the latter occasion Wilson had sent the troops with the expectation that their stay would be brief. "I am very doubtful of my constitutional right to maintain them there indefinitely," Wilson frankly admitted.²³ If Jackson had any such compunctions, he did not preserve them for posterity.

Eaton further revealed that a widespread layoff was planned at that time and that the presence of the federal troops would prevent action by the laborers to impede the scheduled dismissals. "The essential service, however, to us," the canal company president declared, "will be, in staying the further progress of our works, at a time, when it is evident we cannot meet our fiscal engagements. Geo. Town and the City can do nothing; and the Banks will

²¹ Purcell to President and Board of Directors, Jan. 29, 1834.

²² Eaton to Directors, Jan. 31, 1834, Dept. of Interior Archives. "*Every one*" underscored in the original.

²³ Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (New York, 1927-39), IV, 390.

not—cannot assist. Hence is it not only imprudent, but improper to persist in pressing on, when every thing indicates failure.” Eaton then revealed the company’s desperate financial plight, warning that unless they could borrow at ninety days, pledging by bonds to sell treasury stock “at any sacrifice (no matter what)” to repay the loan, there was no alternative but to “close the concern.” These gloomy prospects for completing the canal to the coal regions of Cumberland contrasted with the close approach to completion of the rival Pennsylvania Canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.²⁴

President Eaton then addressed himself to the argument that, if the company dismissed the rioters, the contractors would say that the company was responsible for their not being able to execute their contracts in March. “My opinion is,” Eaton asserted, “that we have at all times a right to control bad conduct and bad actions on our works.” Should the issue arise, the company’s defense would be that “laborers who are so lawless, as to interrupt the peace and quiet of the community, should not be patronised by the Canal Co.” He then adds:

Of one thing I am sure, that the example set, by dismissing those incorrigible men, will prove of essential service hereafter. We ought to dismiss these people, [all and] every one, that has been engaged in a violation of good order; and inhibit by a general order circulated any contractor from employing any one of them.²⁵ Such wild liberties cannot fail to produce great injury unless they are promptly met, and put down. Pass this high offence by, and our riots along the line will unceasingly multiply. It should be understood directly, that we want *working*, not *fighting* men to serve us: then and then only, shall we have peace.²⁶

Jackson lost no time in helping out his friend Eaton at this critical time for the affairs of Eaton’s company. Two companies of federal troops were ordered to the line of the canal from Fort McHenry. They left Baltimore Thursday morning, January 30, and were reported as passing through Fred-

²⁴ To help the company out of its financial difficulties a direct approach was made to the Jackson administration. Mass meetings in Maryland towns and newspaper articles sought to mobilize opinion behind the desperate efforts of the C.&O. directors “to secure federal financial support, specifically, an additional subscription of one million dollars.” Hagerstown *Torchlight*, Feb. 6, 1834; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 8, 1834; Baltimore *American*, Feb. 14, 1834. On March 11 the state legislature passed a resolution urging Maryland’s senators and representatives to work for “a liberal appropriation of the public funds” from Congress for the construction of the canal. *Laws, 1833*, resolution No. 64. Failing to receive the appropriation, the C.&O. Canal Co. issued its own notes in payment for labor on the canal. These notes were redeemable in twelve months and bore interest at four per cent. Commented the Hagerstown *Torchlight*, Apr. 24, 1834: “This measure has been resorted to by the company because it was found impracticable, under the existing state of the money market, to convert the stocks it held into money without great loss.”

²⁵ Blacklisting tactics of that kind had already been employed in other areas (see New York *Evening Post*, July 28, 30, Aug. 1, 1828), and spread rapidly after Eaton’s day.

²⁶ Conceding that “I may be wrong,” Eaton added that he would defer to the judgment of the directors. Eaton to Directors, Jan. 31, 1834.

erick that same day. That town's paper, the *Herald* of February 1, was impressed by the advantages to military defense the movements of troops by rail offered for the nation and added this further comment: "They are a body of fine looking men, and excited much admiration. They arrived at Williamsport yesterday and will remain as long as their services are deemed necessary." Apparently their services involved a good deal more than merely apprehending some thirty of the rioters in the vicinity of Berlin and lodging them in the county jail, and it was not deemed advisable for the troops to leave Eaton's canal for the remainder of the winter.²⁷

The use of the military, state and federal, for the settlement of this labor dispute was a precedent for future intervention in the labor affairs of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. When, in February, 1835, laborers on a section of the canal went on strike for higher wages "and would neither work themselves nor let others work," Niles reported that a troop of horse and company of riflemen, "with directions to use force to preserve the public peace, happily reduced the rioters to order, and drove them away." Whig Niles's concluding comment: "To refuse such persons employment is the surest way to check a riotous spirit."²⁸ Again, when labor troubles broke out on the line on New Year's Day, 1838, after Irish laborers had previously driven off from the tunnel a labor force recruited from England,²⁹ the sheriff summoned the Cumberland guards and other citizens "together with citizens from Virginia" as a posse, and the governor sent a detachment of militia to the scene.³⁰

The strong stand taken by the civil authorities on this occasion commended itself to Chief Engineer Fisk, who advocated stricter labor legislation to deal with such strikes. Then, in the event that the financial embarrassments of the company should lead to "a total suspension" of work, there would be less to fear from the dismissed laborers. Only such a strong stand, he confessed, had prevented violence for the past two months, during which period the company had not been able to meet its engagements. "If the work ahead should be entirely suspended," he confessed, "it can hardly be supposed that 3,000 laborers will quietly disperse—suddenly thrown out of employment, with money due to them,—and many of them without the means of taking them elsewhere—especially little accustomed as they are to the restraints of the Law." As all the laborers previously engaged by the company

²⁷ As late as March 5 local accounts reveal that the commanding officer of Company B, 1st Regiment, U.S. Artillery, Captain M. A. Patrick of Windsor, Vermont, died at his post in Williamsport. Williams, pp. 223 *et seq.*

²⁸ *Niles' Register*, XLVII, 429 (Feb. 21, 1835).

²⁹ Sanderlin, p. 102.

³⁰ Fisk to President Washington, Annapolis, Feb. 5, 1838; William H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland, Maryland* (Washington, D. C., 1878), p. 342.

had left the canal owing to the company's precarious financial condition, it had been necessary for the past two years to send recruiting agents north to secure labor by offers of high wages. Fisk proposed that when mechanics and laborers were thrown out of employment by the gradual completion of contracts along a particular section of the line, they should be assigned work along the balance of the route to Cumberland.³¹ That this obvious labor program had not been pursued before this time speaks volumes for the grievances of the workers.

When in the middle of May of 1838 workers protested the nonpayment of wages by attempting to destroy the work they had completed without compensation, Brigadier General O. H. Williams, again in command of the militia at that end of the state and a veteran in handling labor trouble on the line, dispatched three companies to the scene of the disturbance.³² Writing from Clear Spring, May 16, 1838, Colonel William H. Fitzhugh, in command of a small detachment of militia, reported that an Irish contractor, accompanied by a militia officer, sought to induce the laborers to turn in their powder. Many of the rioters were amenable "provided the powder was kept for the benefit of the creditors of the contractors." Though this condition was readily agreed to, hot tempers prevailed, and, under a barrage of abusive epithets, the mediators retired without being able to set up an effective guard over the powder magazine. Finally, the militia retrieved the powder kegs but respected the intention of the workers "to keep possession of the works and to suffer no labour to be done thereon untill the matter is compromised between them and the company."³³ Reiterating the determination of the workers not to yield possession of the works or permit any work to be done "until they are compensated for their labor," General Williams urged upon the president of the company the propriety of declaring that whatever it owed to the contractors should go to the payment of the debts they in turn owed the laborers. "In the absence of any such arrangement or compromise, it may be necessary to guard the works whilst any danger is menaced or apprehended," he added. Alluding to Colonel Fitzhugh's report that the laborers and their families "are in a suffering and deplorable condition," Williams stated that he did not think it necessary "at this time" to keep any of the troops on duty at the works, since the men had been deprived of the principal means of "doing the threatened mischief" by the removal of the powder kegs. He admitted further that the local citizenry were so sympathetic to the strikers that some

³¹ Fisk to Washington, Feb. 5, 1838.

³² Williams, p. 233.

³³ Fitzhugh to General O. H. Williams, May 16, 1838, Dept. of Interior Archives.

militiamen had flatly refused to turn out on this occasion and had warned that if they did they would "fight for the Irish."

The idea of federal military aid was once more advanced at this time. Pointing out the ineffectiveness of the militia arrangements on the ground of the expense involved and the lack of accommodations for troops, the head of the militia asserted that to guard this undertaking day and night would require tents and camp equipment. "I would therefore suggest, for further security, that you make application to the Governor of Maryland, or to the Secretary of War, for the loan of such articles, and if they can be had, that they be forwarded to the Canal."³⁴

When subsequent labor trouble broke out, the company showed no hesitancy in suspending work at the scene of the disturbance and in dismissing the workers in order to set an "example on the whole line" and to bring about "the procurement of more orderly and submissive laborers."³⁵ When laborers struck they were criminally prosecuted and their strike leaders sent to the penitentiary for terms running from about five to eighteen years.³⁶ Fisk's proposal that the company hire its own private police to preserve order is supported by evidence that the company employed a "Pinkerton" man to gather evidence against the strike leaders in the case of a riot in Allegany County in 1839.³⁷

When Jackson sent federal troops to the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to put down a strike of Irish laborers, he was definitely acting in accordance with his own conception of the enlarged powers of the presidency.³⁸ It was characteristic of Jackson, ever the man of action, of imperious temper and military background, to take this precipitate step without reflecting upon its unprecedented character. For Jackson was the first president to send in federal troops to quell disorders which had not arisen out of a violation of federal law or a defiance of the federal government.³⁹ The man who took up

³⁴ Williams to Washington, May 16, 17, 18, 1838. No trace of any such request is found in the correspondence of the Maryland executive at the Hall of Records, Annapolis. No executive letter book for the period is available. The very next day Williams wrote Washington pointing out that the expense for guarding the powder magazine would be \$5 per night.

³⁵ Washington to Fisk, June 28, 1838. The engineer was authorized to employ a "temporary" force if necessary to support the contractor in the dismissal of the laborers.

³⁶ Fisk to President and Directors, Oct. 31, 1839. On that occasion the military authorities appear to have overreached themselves in suppressing a strike at the tunnel. In the course of a wholesale destruction of workers' shanties innocent property-holders suffered damages, for which the courts found the militia officers and Chief Engineer Fisk liable. Williams, p. 233.

³⁷ Proceedings of the President and Directors of the C.&O. Canal Co., lib. F, p. 405, Dept. of Interior Archives.

³⁸ Jackson's precedent-making conception of the office of the chief executive has been well delineated by such writers on constitutional development as Edward S. Corwin, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Carl B. Swisher, Wilfred E. Binkley, Caleb P. Patterson, and George Fort Milton.

³⁹ Prior to the C.&O. Canal incident, Jackson sent troops to New Orleans and New Bern, N. C., in connection with threats of Negro insurrections in 1831.

the gauntlet thrown down by the sovereign state of South Carolina and ordered two companies of artillery to Fort Moultrie in November, 1832, and additional troops to the Citadel at Charleston, actually employed federal troops to put down disorder or insurrection on more occasions than had any previous president.⁴⁰

How far his personal concern in promoting the interests of former Secretary of War Eaton entered into Jackson's easy assumption of the role of strikebreaker in the canal incident would be difficult to evaluate, for Jackson was a man with a strong sense of personal loyalties. But this much is clear. Jackson's action should remove any lingering doubt about his concern with the problems of industrial labor. An exponent of hard money, Jackson may well have sincerely believed that he had an issue in his fight against the Bank which would appeal to the laboring man as well as to the farmer.⁴¹ But there is no evidence that Jackson favored combinations of labor any more than combinations of capital or that he approved of the strike weapon.⁴² So-called Jacksonians like William Leggett, Frederick Robinson, and Ely Moore were far-removed in ideology from the unreflective, pragmatic middle-class point of view of the President. While "Old Hickory" stamped his foot upon the "monster" with the Biddle-like head, he had, in his assistance to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, demonstrated that he bore no special aversion to monopolies as such. Perhaps much depended upon whether the head of the firm was Nicholas Biddle or Peggy Eaton's husband.⁴³

⁴⁰ Jackson also sent federal troops in connection with the Black Hawk War and the Cherokee Indian troubles. See F. T. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, n. 12 above; Homer Cummings and Carl McFarland, *Federal Justice* (New York, 1937), p. 543.

⁴¹ See, e.g., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. by John S. Bassett (Washington, 1931), V, 244, 282, 489, 498, 499; VI, 131. For the issue of wage payments in discounted paper money, see Richard Hofstadter, "William Leggett, Spokesman of Jacksonian Democracy," *Political Science Quarterly*, LVIII (December, 1943), pp. 586, 592-94.

⁴² It is true that Jackson had shown on the eve of a presidential election that he was more responsive to labor pressure than was Congress; and his Secretary of the Navy issued the order for the ten-hour day in the Philadelphia Navy Yard, an order local in application, originally confined to the area in which a strike had taken place. Letters to the Navy Commissioners, III, Records of the Department of the Navy, National Archives (Aug. 31, 1836). But private employers in the area, as well as the Whig municipal government, had already shown the way. When, earlier that year, Ely Moore had presented a memorial to Congress from the National Trades Union, calling for a ten-hour day on all public works, representatives of both parties (notably Democrats like James Parker and Thomas L. Hamer and Whigs like William Hiester) argued that Congress had no power to interfere and that men should be left free to make their own contracts. 24 Cong., 1 sess., *Congressional Globe*, pp. 213, 231, 271, 272. Van Buren's celebrated executive order establishing the "ten-hour system" for laborers or mechanics employed on public works (Richardson, *Messages*, II, 602; C. L. Lord, *List and Index of Presidential Executive Orders, Un-numbered Series* [Newark, N. J., n. d.], p. 8) was issued belatedly in his last year in office and was also timed for the presidential election of 1840. See R. B. Morris in *Labor and Nation*, V (May-June, 1949), 38-40.

⁴³ Jackson's supporters often had no scruple about holding office in monopolistic private companies. In addition to Eaton, one might name Louis McLane, who served as president of the Morris Canal and Banking Co. and, then, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In New Jersey the Whigs were the antimonopoly party and fought the Jacksonian-sponsored Camden and Amboy Railroad.

The most charitable judgment is that Jackson was neutral in the strife between labor and capital, and that on the one occasion when the issue seemed to call for federal intervention he used the power of his office to help capital throttle labor, to support a company which did not scruple to employ the blacklist, private police, and labor spies to maintain discipline among its workers.

Perhaps the workmen of Jackson's own day had a clearer knowledge of this fact than later historians who painted the President as the darling of the "toiling masses." Recent research has gone far to qualify the assertion that eastern labor supported Jackson in national, state, and local elections.⁴⁴ To the historian of labor, Jackson's stand in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal strike puts him much closer to the age of Hayes and Cleveland than it does to the era of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal. It lends support to the view of one recent critical student of the period that the age of Jackson was as much or more "an age of triumphant exploitation" than one of "triumphant liberalism."

Columbia University

⁴⁴ A group of students in the writers' seminar at Columbia University have studied the labor vote in the Jacksonian period and have come to the conclusion that it was the small farmer in the back country sections of the eastern states who supported Jackson far more consistently than did the industrial worker. See W. A. Sullivan, "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?" *Political Science Quarterly*, LXII, 569-80; Edward Pessen, "Did Labor Support Jackson?: The Boston Story," *ibid.*, LXIV, 262-74. As further evidence of the hostility of labor groups in certain areas to Jackson's views on the bank, see also *New England Artisan*, Oct. 11, 25, 1832; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 6, 20, 1834; *Niles' Register*, XLV, 395, 396. This question is also pursued by Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606-1865* (New York, 1946), II, 637, and "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LIV (January, 1949), 296-306. But cf. Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., *ibid.* (April, 1949), pp. 785-86.

The Trial of Peers in Great Britain

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

THE British House of Lords at present is a final appellate court.¹ Until 1948 it also had sole original jurisdiction over peers² and peeresses³ charged with treason, felony, or misprision thereof, with the exception of Irish peers in the House of Commons.⁴ This jurisdiction, while including persons unable to sit in the House of Lords,⁵ applied to all its members with the exception of the bishops.

The origin of the jurisdiction was in the relationships of political feudalism, whereby vassals owed suit of court to their lord and were triable only by their co-suitors.⁶ The absence of political feudalism in Anglo-Saxon England precluded the existence of the procedure there, where the witan tried great offenders only when they had flouted the concurrent jurisdictions of shire and hundred court.⁷ In the rather minute legal descriptions of classes before 1066 significantly lacking is a group triable only by the witan, an omission in great contrast to the precise term in contemporary eleventh century Normandy of "*pares curiae*,"⁸ denoting men triable only by co-suitors of the same lord. This procedure was part of the political feudalism introduced into England by the Normans, whose presence in England after the Con-

¹ Except for ecclesiastical and overseas appeals which go to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

² A peer is the holder of a peerage. His heir is a commoner unless holding a peerage in his own right.

³ Those holding peerages in their own right, wives of peers, and widows of peers not remarried to commoners.

⁴ The Act of Union of 1800 gave to Irish peers not among the representative peers in the House of Lords the right to sit for English constituencies in the House of Commons. Such Irish peers judicially are commoners. The constitutional changes of Ireland since 1921, including that of 1949, have not affected the English law as to Irish peers sitting in Commons.

⁵ Peeresses in their own right have never sat. Catholic peers were barred from Parliament, 1679 to 1829; but the Catholic Viscount Stafford, impeached for treason in 1680, was given a peer trial. Peers not discharged from bankruptcy could not sit in the House of Lords but were amenable to its original jurisdiction. (34&35 Vic. cap. 50, s. 10, sub-s. 1.)

⁶ In 1678 Lord Chancellor Nottingham attempted to trace the procedure back to the Roman Senate but felt more certain of his precedents in the institution of feudalism. (William Cobbett, *et al.*, *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials* [London, 1809-28], VII, 147. Henceforth to be cited as S.T.)

⁷ Nottingham's use of the trial of Godwin, earl of Kent as a precedent for the procedure in Anglo-Saxon England simply emphasizes the expedient nature of such witan cases. Moreover, this trial took place during the strong Norman influences of the reign of Edward the Confessor.

⁸ William Stubbs, *Lectures on Early English History*, ed. by Arthur Hassall (London, 1906), p. 24. For an excellent treatment of the procedure in Normandy, see L. W. Vernon Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward and the Trial of Peers* (London, 1907), pp. 207-10.

quest is indicated by the phrase in the *Leges Henrici Primi*, "*Unusquisque per suos judicandus est.*"⁹

The growth of Angevin bureaucratic justice threatened the procedure so that the barons in chapters 21 and 39 of the 1215 Magna Carta endeavored to protect it. Combined as chapter 29 in the 1225 and later the statutory version of the charter, the two chapters did not mean trial by jury, as yet unknown in England, but meant just what they said to their framers, who wished to ensure their immunity from the increasing purview of royal justice. This interpretation is underlined by thirteenth century synonymous usage of "peer" with "baron."¹⁰

Kings tried to evade the promise of trial of peers by peers, because the procedure was controlled by their baronial opponents, whose claim was even less pleasing to the crown in its extending to any action where a baron was a party. This claim was too broad for the crown to accept or the barons to maintain. In 1234 they accepted a ruling by the justices removing baronial civil cases from trial by peers.¹¹ The surrender made the lords more determined to control all criminal actions—treason, felony, and misdemeanor. The last with its heavy amercements, the crown beginning with Henry III firmly denied.¹² In 1341 the House of Lords tacked the complete criminal jurisdiction claim to a money bill but provided that peers might waive their right to peer trials. Edward III, needing supply, gave his assent, only to withdraw it after Parliament rose.¹³ Unable to challenge directly this royal cancellation, Parliament tacitly asserted its sole right to annul laws by formally repealing the measure.¹⁴ This attempt was the last by the lords to secure all peer criminal actions. In 1387 they said that their criminal jurisdiction over peers was that of treason and felony "as of ancient time accustomed."¹⁵

Soon after, the peers further limited this criminal jurisdiction to such charges initiated by indictment. The abuses of cases begun by appeal had become so palpable that in 1399 a law forbade the pursuit in the House of

⁹ *Leges Henrici Primi*, XXXI, 37. Thought to have been written about 1116, the *Leges* are a compilation of existing law at that date. The phrase may be translated somewhat freely as, "He who is to be judged by his own [class]."

¹⁰ Harcourt, p. 211.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 286. The legal commentator Fleta supported this denial by Henry III.

¹³ 15 Edw. III cap. 2; Luke Owen Pike, *A Constitutional History of the House of Lords* (London, 1894), p. 197. The withdrawal of the royal assent may have been occasioned less by the rider of the Lords than that by the Commons, which required that all royal advisers should be named in Parliament.

¹⁴ 15 Edw. III Stat. 2.

¹⁵ Pike, pp. 199–200.

Lords of any charge so initiated.¹⁶ Until the abolition of criminal actions by appeal in 1819,¹⁷ appealed peers fell under the purview of ordinary courts.¹⁸ In 1442 following the irregular trial for sorcery of the duchess of Gloucester¹⁹ the peers' jurisdiction as to persons was extended by statute to include peeresses.²⁰

Even with the reduction of their claims as to jurisdiction *in rem*, the lords found the crown unwilling to admit them until Henry VII, typically, found a method to recognize the letter without the spirit of those claims in his prerogative creation of the Court of the Lord High Steward, where the crown had control over the procedure by its *prior* selection of noble triers.²¹ With this device at their disposal, the Tudors were willing to accord statutory recognition of the right, beginning vaguely in 1542²² and becoming more explicit²³ until in 1557 an act specifically said that peers indicted for felony or treason should be tried only by their peers.²⁴

The Tudor peers had to accept the prerogative device in order to secure statutory recognition of the right. By accepting it the lords also at last secured the exclusion of commoner justices from peer trials except as advisers. The control over the trying personnel by the crown caused it to drop its insistence that justices should act with the peers as triers.²⁵

Following this explicit statutory recognition of the old feudal right, the procedure was confirmed in various Elizabethan laws.²⁶ With the abolition of feudal military tenures in 1660, the entire basis of the right shifted solely

¹⁶ 1 Hen. IV cap. 14. In 1388 the Lords Appellant had used the weapon only to have Richard II turn it against them in 1397. (*S.T.*, I, 89-134.)

¹⁷ 59 Geo. III cap. 46, s. 1.

¹⁸ At least one appealed peer was executed by the sentence of an ordinary court. (Pike, p. 209.) By 1470 Littleton had ruled that an appealed peer might be tried in any manner except by his peers. (*Ibid.*, p. 217.)

¹⁹ Before Henry VI and some bishops, who condemned her to exile on the Isle of Man. (*Ibid.*, p. 215.)

²⁰ 20 Hen. VI cap. 9. Since the act extended the jurisdiction only to the then-existing ranks of duchess, countess, and baroness, it is questionable if it included the later-appearing ones of marchioness and viscountess.

²¹ As late as 1497 Henry VII had ordered that Lord Audley be tried by special commission for treason. In 1499 Henry gave his new creation a test in the treason trial of the earl of Warwick, who looked at his triers and pleaded guilty. (Harcourt, pp. 393, 433-34; Pike, p. 218.)

²² 33 Hen. VIII cap. 12. This law against malicious bloodshed and murder said that peers should be tried as in times past.

²³ In 1547 a criminal justice law (1 Edw. VI cap. 12, s. 14) cited specific crimes, including treason but not all felonies, where a peer should have trial by peers.

²⁴ 4&5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 4, s. 2.

²⁵ Trial records up to the Tudors mention trials of peers by peers "and others," the royal justices. (Harcourt, p. 281; Pike, pp. 203-205.) In 1547 commoner justices were tacitly excluded as triers of peers by the law (1 Edw. VI cap. 12, s. 14) saying that peers accused of certain crimes should be tried *only* by their peers.

²⁶ 1 Eliz. cap. 1 (Act of Supremacy), s. 18; 1 Eliz. cap. 2 (Act of Uniformity), s. 9; 1 Eliz. cap. 5 (Treason Act), s. 7; 13 Eliz. cap. 1 (Treason Act), s. 6; 13 Eliz. cap. 2 (Act against the importation of papal bulls or blessed articles), s. 8.

to a statutory one, the law ending such tenures saving to holders of peerages their right to sit in the House of Lords with all related privileges,²⁷ a statement sufficiently broad to include trial by peers. In 1856 the House of Lords asserted successfully its competence to try peers for treason or felony,²⁸ with the Criminal Justice Act of that year providing for such trials.²⁹

The House of Lords, however, usually could not try peers in the armed forces if charged under the king's regulations.³⁰ In 1690 some lords were disturbed that Admiral Lord Torrington should be tried by a court martial composed largely of commoner captains.³¹ But the House of Lords accepted the judicial opinion that since charges under the articles of war lacked the feature of indictment, essential to peer trial procedure, those peers thus charged were not amenable to the jurisdiction of their peers.³² The Mutiny Act of 1703 provided that peers serving abroad who were charged under the articles of war with treason or felony and who were not then tried by a court martial should be tried by peers upon their return to England.³³ In 1862 another concession guaranteed peers stationed in Great Britain trial by peers if charged with murder.³⁴ With these two exceptions the House of Lords had no original jurisdiction over lords accused under the service regulations.³⁵

The bishops in the House of Lords were not included in its original jurisdiction largely because they consistently denied, beginning with Becket in 1164, the competence of any secular court.³⁶ When Edward III secured the removal of treason from the scope of church courts,³⁷ prelates were in an invidious position of being unable to demand peer trials on treason charges without jeopardizing the large remainder of their claim to immunity from lay courts.³⁸ In 1388 the peers condemned the archbishop of York *in absentia*

²⁷ 12 Car. II cap. 24, s. 11.

²⁸ Julius Dudley Medley, *A Student's Manual of English Constitutional Law* (Oxford, 1894), p. 176.

²⁹ 19&20 Vic. cap. 16, s. 29.

³⁰ Despite the origin of the jurisdiction in the feudal relationships of tenants in chivalry.

³¹ Pike, p. 226.

³² *Journals of the House of Lords*, XIV, 521-22. Later the Lords passed a bill to the same effect, but the Commons adjourned without acting on it. General opinion was that the bill was not needed in the light of the acceptance by the Lords of the judicial opinion. (Arthur S. Turberville, *The House of Lords in the Reign of William III* [Oxford, 1913], p. 69.)

³³ 2&3 Anne cap. 20, s. 42.

³⁴ 25&26 Vic. cap. 5, s. 5; cap. 65, s. 19.

³⁵ Any person in the British armed forces, including peers, may be indicted and tried by civil procedure. A peer in the armed forces if charged under indictment might be tried only by his peers.

³⁶ Pike, p. 172. William I had obviated difficulties by trying Bishop Odo as earl of Kent. William II tried the bishop of St. Carilef as such. (Harcourt, pp. 209-10.)

³⁷ Harcourt, p. 304.

³⁸ Although Archbishop of Canterbury Stratford by insisting on a peer trial for charges of malversation brought by Edward III, secured a royal quashing of the charges. (Harcourt, pp. 338, 341-42, 345.)

for treason³⁹ and in 1407, despite the royal order to desist, tried the bishop of Carlisle on the same charge.⁴⁰ Tudor peers were not interested in asserting this jurisdiction so that neither Fisher nor Cranmer received a peer trial, each being condemned by special commission.⁴¹ In 1692 the House of Lords formally disclaimed any jurisdiction over prelates but at the same time declared that for this reason bishops were merely "lords of parliament" and not peers.⁴²

The spiritual lords were less willing to accept the corollary that they should not sit in peer trials, notwithstanding the canon law prohibition against their acting in causes of blood. In the Arundel treason trial of 1397 they gave their collective proxy to a lay peer,⁴³ but this was the only time that device was used.⁴⁴ As late as 1499 the prior of St. Johns was named as a trier in the Warwick treason case.⁴⁵ After the Elizabethan religious settlement the bishops held that they could act in any noncapital trial. In 1679 this view was challenged by the House of Commons, which had no desire to see bishops subscribing to the doctrine of nonresistance to the king sit on the impeachment trial of the earl of Danby, who had pleaded the royal order.⁴⁶ A compromise between the Commons and the Lords would have permitted the bishops to act with full powers during the trial until the vote on the verdict, when they would withdraw.⁴⁷ Although the Danby impeachment never came to trial, the bishops viewed the proposed arrangement as a precedent for all peer trials, withdrawing at the point of reaching a verdict while maintaining their right to remain—a face-saving formula of dubious legal validity; since it is practically axiomatic that he who is not amenable to a court may not himself participate in its judgments.⁴⁸

The lords temporal, without previous effort on their part, in 1547 gave benefit of clergy a peculiar twist to turn it into "privilege of peerage," a *substantive* right not dependent upon the procedural one of trial by peers. Privilege of peerage allowed a peer upon his first conviction, except for

³⁹ *S.T.*, I, 89–124.

⁴⁰ Condemned to death by the peers, the bishop was pardoned by Henry IV. (Pike, pp. 213–15.)

⁴¹ Neither prelate requested a peer trial. (*Ibid.*, pp. 220–21.)

⁴² The resolution to this effect was very clear. "Bishops who are only Lords of Parliament are not Peers, for they are not of trial by nobility." (Sir William R. Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution* [London, 1910–11], I, 227.)

⁴³ *S.T.*, I, 130.

⁴⁴ Despite the later suggestion by Littleton that this method solved all the problems of the spiritual lords. (Pike, p. 218.)

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁴⁶ The managers for the impeachment said that the trial *could* be capital, thus excluding the bishops from it. (*Journals of the House of Commons*, 1667–1685, p. 662.)

⁴⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, XIII, 570.

⁴⁸ Anson, I, 227.

treason and murder, to go free without punishment.⁴⁹ Beginning in the Restoration the privilege was exercised five times.⁵⁰ In 1827 benefit of clergy was abolished,⁵¹ but the related privilege of peerage remained until 1841.⁵²

The Scottish and Irish unions of 1707 and 1801, particularly the former, raised questions about peer trials. The respective acts of union gave to all Scottish and Irish peers, except Irish peers in Commons, trial by peers.⁵³ But Scottish law, whose entire fabric was guaranteed in 1707, did not always employ the indictment (essential to the whole peer trial procedure); nor did it have the same division between felonies and misdemeanors as did English law. The procedural problem was solved by another law in 1707.⁵⁴ The larger substantive difficulty was not met until the law of 1825 which stated that peers⁵⁵ charged in Scotland with crimes made capital by Scottish law or noncapital felonies by English law were to have peer trials, where Scottish procedure and penalties would apply.⁵⁶ Fewer problems arose from the union with Ireland, where before 1801 English writs had run and English law prevailed. Before 1801 Irish peers had been triable by the Irish House of Lords for crimes in Ireland,⁵⁷ although tried as commoners for

⁴⁹ 1 Edw. VI cap. 12, s. 13. The law reduced benefit of clergy for commoners from what it had been in 1509 but kept it intact for peers, who unlike the commoners did not need to be literate to claim their privilege. Benefit of clergy for convicted commoners often meant branding instead of hanging, but the law specifically ruled out this possibility for peers receiving privilege of peerage.

⁵⁰ All peer trials during the Tudor period were for treason, where the privilege did not apply. The Restoration lords began the practice in murder trials of returning verdicts of manslaughter, where the privilege could be used, in the following cases: Lord Morley, 1666 (*S.T.*, VI, 786); Earl Pembroke, 1678 (*S.T.*, VI, 1349–50). These precedents were followed in the cases of Earl Warwick and Holland, 1699 (*S.T.*, XIII, 1032); and Lord Byron, 1765 (*S.T.*, XIX, 1235–36). The fifth exercise of the privilege was by the duchess of Kingston in 1776 upon conviction for the then capital but clergyable crime of bigamy (*S.T.*, XX, 625).

⁵¹ 7&8 Geo. IV cap. 28, s. 1.

⁵² 4&5 Vic. cap. 22. Its abolition came as a result of the announcement by Earl Cardigan that he would claim the privilege if convicted of dueling, although he was acquitted before the bill was introduced. (State Trials Committee, eds., *Reports of State Trials*, New Series [London, 1888–98], IV, 666, n. a. Henceforth to be cited as *S.T.*, New Series.)

⁵³ 6 Anne cap. 11, s. 23; 39&40 Geo. III cap. 67 s. 4, sub-s. 4.

⁵⁴ 6 Anne cap. 78, s. 12. The law also dealt with the problem of how to transfer cases from Scotland to the House of Lords, since no English writ ran in Scotland. The act allowed justices of oyer and terminer to inquire into crimes by peers (English or Scottish) in Scotland with the resultant inquisition to be considered an indictment, although the justices might have a jury return an indictment based on the inquisition. In either case, the justices without further writ should bring the case to the peers for trial.

⁵⁵ English or Scottish, but, oddly, not Irish, peers. The law specifically said that it did not apply to peers of Ireland (6 Geo. IV cap. 66, s. 13). Apparently, the framers of it were thinking that the act had no meaning in Ireland with its English law and where English writs ran. But because of this disclaimer it would seem possible for an Irish peer to have perpetrated all sorts of crimes in Scotland without fear of prosecution. No occasion arose for a judicial ruling on this question which would have arisen if an Irish peer (guaranteed a peer trial by the law of 1800) had committed a crime in Scotland.

⁵⁶ 6 Geo. IV cap. 66, s. 1–4.

⁵⁷ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d Series, CCCX, 254.

crimes committed in England.⁵⁸ The Act of Union of 1800 thus merely extended geographically their previous right.⁵⁹

Trials of peers could take place in the Court of the Lord High Steward or the High Court of Parliament, the latter the House of Lords as a court of first instance. The former, first used in 1499, was the prerogative creation of Henry VII and ensured the crown control of peer trials by its selection of triers. The wily Tudor really took the old Court of Chivalry, made all its members peers, and replaced the constable at its head with a previously existing palace official, the lord high steward.⁶⁰ The theory was that this court tried peers only when Parliament was not in session, a condition not onerous for the Tudors, whose reigns saw all peer trials (ten treason cases) in this court. The crown fixed the number of triers, varying in different cases from twenty to thirty-five.⁶¹ As peers they could not be challenged. Like the common-law jury these peers were judges only of fact, including the verdict, but with all decisions reached by a majority.⁶² In his own court the lord high steward, like a common-law justice, decided only questions of law, including sentence.⁶³ The assertion of parliamentary rights after 1603 had its reflection in the decreased use of this court by the Stuarts, who summoned it only six times (and only once for treason, its last case in 1686).⁶⁴ No appeal lay from this court, which was a segment of the highest in the land,⁶⁵ and which for that reason could return any verdict except a special one.⁶⁶ The prior selection of triers by the crown had the general result of only three acquittal verdicts, two, interestingly, unanimously of treason.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ The Irish peers Lord Grey in 1540 (*S.T.*, I, 443-44) and Earl Castlemaine in 1680 (*S.T.*, VII, 1067) were indicted for treason by an English grand jury and tried in King's Bench.

⁵⁹ 39&40 Geo. III cap. 67, s. 4, sub-s. 4.

⁶⁰ The lord high steward as a palace official can be traced back to the "*dapifer*" of Normandy. The office after various shifts merged with the crown in 1399. After that time the office was granted only for the purpose of peer trials on a *pro hac vice* basis. For an excellent account of the origins and antecedents of the court with its relatively recent appearance by prerogative action see Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*.

⁶¹ Supposedly there was a minimum of 23 so that a bare majority (12) would reflect jury practice. In four trials the number of triers was unknown. In one trial each the number of triers was 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, and 35. In two trials there were 23 triers, and in four 27.

⁶² A. Berriedale Keith, *The Constitution of England from Queen Victoria to George VI* (London, 1940), I, 286. A majority of one against the accused was resolved in his acquittal. (*S.T.*, III, 403.)

⁶³ Since he did not act as a trier in his court, there was no legal necessity that the lord high steward be a peer, although he always was one.

⁶⁴ *Rex v. Lord Delamere* (*S.T.*, XI, 513-96).

⁶⁵ Edward Fischel, *The English Constitution*, trans. by Richard Jenery Shee (London, 1863), p. 286.

⁶⁶ Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (London, 1830), IV, 348. A special verdict (rarely returned) is the older "recognition" by a jury of certain facts, which are then transmitted to a *higher* court to rule on as to law and final decision.

⁶⁷ Lord Cornwallis of murder, 1678 (*S.T.*, VII, 158); and Lord Dacres, 1535 (*S.T.*, I, 408) and Lord Delamere, 1686 (*S.T.*, XI, 596) of treason.

The supremacy of Parliament after 1688 ensured that this engine of the crown, chiefly against noble treason, would be wrecked. The Treason Act of 1695 provided that so long as a majority was sufficient for treason conviction of peers, in such treason cases all peers must be summoned as triers,⁶⁸ thereby destroying the usefulness of the court to the crown, which never thereafter constituted it even for simple felony trials. In 1935 when Parliament was not in session rather than have this court for the Lord De Clifford manslaughter case, the crown had the trial in the full High Court of Parliament.⁶⁹

The High Court of Parliament, the older, customary court for peer trials, in abeyance under the Tudors, made its reappearance with the Stuarts in 1603.⁷⁰ Increasing in use with growing parliamentary power, after the Revolution it was the only court trying peers for treason and felony. In this court all peers were judges equally of both fact and law, with the presiding lord high steward merely *primus inter pares*.⁷¹ Custom fixed the minimum triers at twelve,⁷² but again all decisions were by a majority⁷³ with any verdict possible except a special one.⁷⁴ Sentence was likewise fixed but had to accord with the law.⁷⁵

This court could receive peers for trial either upon impeachment or indictment. Since the last impeachment was in 1806,⁷⁶ this method was probably obsolete by 1948. While impeachment was in use, if the charges were treason or a specific felony, the impeached peer received a peer trial.⁷⁷ If the charges

⁶⁸ 7&8 Wm. III cap. 3, s. 10. This requirement did not apply to cases of peers charged with the rarer forms of treason by counterfeiting coins, the great seal, the privy seal, the privy signet, or forging the sign manual.

⁶⁹ *Proceedings in the Trial of Lord De Clifford* (House of Lords, 1935–36, Sessional Paper No. 12), p. 1.

⁷⁰ With the joint trial of Lords Grey and Cobham for treason. (Francis Hargrave, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials and Proceedings for High-Treason, 1388–1777* [London, 1776–1801], I, 350.)

⁷¹ Keith, II, 286. Again, the lord high steward could be a commoner, although he then could preside only. Actually, he was always a peer and acted as such in this court.

⁷² Le Comte de Franqueville, *Le Gouvernement et le Parlement Britannique* (Paris, 1887), II, 233. The figure was obviously a reflection of jury practice. Neither minimum possible nor maximum possible of peers acted in any peer trial. Theoretically all peers were bound to attend when summoned in the sovereign's name by the Masters in Chancery. Practically there was no way to enforce attendance.

⁷³ A majority of one against the accused acquitted him, while an even division on any question was resolved in the negative. (Anson, I, 233.)

⁷⁴ See note 66 above.

⁷⁵ Although it is difficult to see how an illegal sentence could have been quashed except by a royal pardon.

⁷⁶ That of Viscount Melville for high crimes and misdemeanors, whose trial, however, was not a peer trial because of the nature of the charges. See below.

⁷⁷ In such a trial the lords voted on their "honor," and there was a lord high steward presiding, although in 1679 the House of Lords resolved, "It is *Declared and Ordered* by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Office of a High-Steward, upon Tryals of Peers upon Impeachment, is not necessary to the House of Peers; but that the Lords may proceed upon such Tryals if a High-Steward be not appointed according to their humble Desire." (*Journals of the House of Lords*, XIII, 569.)

were misdemeanors or the vague "high crimes," the peer was tried like any impeached commoner.⁷⁸ The test as to whether an impeached peer received a peer trial was the withdrawal of the bishops from voting on the verdict.⁷⁹ Only six peer impeachment cases came into this court (plus one tried by the steward's court)⁸⁰ to the twelve tried on indictment, after being removed by a writ of certiorari from the court receiving the indictment to the High Court of Parliament for trial.⁸¹

There were large gaps between legal theory and actual practice in both courts. Only three verdicts in the Court of the Lord High Steward⁸² and four in the High Court of Parliament were divided.⁸³ In only one of these seven divided verdicts (and that in the larger court) was the difference between majority and minority less than half of the total triers.⁸⁴ A major reason for this tendency toward unanimity was the increasing influence of the advisory royal justices. In his own court the steward always asked for their advice, never ignoring it even after 1616 when he was always the lord chancellor.⁸⁵ The usually fire-eating Jeffreys as steward in the Delamere

⁷⁸ The peers voted "content" or "not content" as usual. There was no lord high steward. The following impeached peers did not have peer trials: Viscount St. Albans (Sir Francis Bacon) for bribery and corruption, 1620 (*S.T.*, II, 1087-1113); Earl Middlesex for bribery and corruption, 1624 (*S.T.*, II, 1190-1250); Earl Orford and Lord Somers for high crimes and misdemeanors, 1701 (*S.T.*, XIV, 241-322); Earl Macclesfield for high crimes and misdemeanors, 1725 (*S.T.*, XVI, 768-1402); Viscount Melville for high crimes and misdemeanors, 1806 (*S.T.*, XXIX, 605-1482). A mixed procedure was used in the impeachment trial of Earl Oxford for treason and other high crimes and misdemeanors in 1717 when the Commons would not prosecute. In order to free the earl the peers had a lord high steward named and with the bishops voting formally acquitted him on all counts. (*S.T.*, XV, 1045-1165, 1175-78.)

⁷⁹ See above p. 73.

⁸⁰ All for treason. Earl Stafford, 1641 (*S.T.*, III, 1413-76); Viscount Stafford, 1680 (*S.T.*, VII, 1293-1558); Earls Derwenter, Nithisdale, Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, Lords Widdrington, and Nairn, 1716 (*S.T.*, XV, 770-801); Earl Wintoun, 1716 (*S.T.*, XV, 815-96); and Lord Lovat, 1746-47 (*S.T.*, XVIII, 540-841). The impeachment for treason which was tried in the steward's court was that of Earl Arundel, 1589 (*S.T.*, I, 1249-59).

⁸¹ The abolition in 1933 of the grand jury as the returning agency for indictments, except for overseas treasons, offenses of governors, and violations of the official secrets laws (23&24 Geo. V cap. 36), had no effect on the above procedure. Prosecution was still initiated by indictment but returned by the law officers of the crown.

⁸² Earl Castlehaven, 1631, rape and sodomy; guilty of rape—unanimous, guilty of sodomy—15-12 (*S.T.*, III, 416). Lord Morley, 1666, murder; guilty of manslaughter—25, guilty of murder—2 (*S.T.*, VI, 785-86). Lord Cornwallis, 1678, murder; not guilty—25, guilty of manslaughter—6, abstained—4 (*S.T.*, VII, 157-58). The title of the Morley trial record would apparently indicate a trial by all the peers. But the fewness of the triers and an editorial comment make it clear that the trial was in the smaller court. (*S.T.*, VI, 769, n. c.)

⁸³ Earl Pembroke, 1678, murder; guilty of manslaughter—40, guilty of murder—6 (*S.T.*, VI, 1349). Viscount Stafford, 1680, treason; guilty—55, not guilty—31 (*S.T.*, VII, 1553). Lord Mohun, 1692, murder; not guilty—69, guilty—14 (*S.T.*, XII, 1049). Lord Byron, 1765, murder; guilty of manslaughter—119, not guilty—4 (*S.T.*, XIX, 1235).

⁸⁴ The verdict of treason against Viscount Stafford. See note 83.

⁸⁵ Numerous examples of the steward's hesitancy can be found. Lord Buckhurst in the Essex and Southampton treason trial in 1600 refused to give any rulings, he being a mere lord treasurer, without the advice of the justices, whose view that rebellion always compassed the death of the sovereign doomed the two peers. (*S.T.*, I, 1355.) In 1666 Earl Clarendon in the Morley case would not rule on the admissibility of depositions until he had the judicial opinion that they could be admitted only for deceased witnesses. (*S.T.*, VI, 776.)

treason trial of 1686 hesitated to rule on legal points without that advice.⁸⁶ In contrast, the steward, a presiding officer in the High Court of Parliament, usually a judicial personage,⁸⁷ exerted influence over the peers as judges of law, especially when supported by the advisory justices, whose opinions in no instance were overruled by the lords as legally was possible.⁸⁸ In 1841 the opinion of Lord Chief Justice Denman as steward in the Cardigan dueling trial, when supported by the justices, that the crown had not proved its case resulted in a unanimous acquittal by the peers.⁸⁹ In 1901 the steward, Lord Chancellor Halsbury, in the Russell bigamy case consulted the justices beforehand and gave rulings on the law without protest from the peers.⁹⁰ The whole tendency was for the peers to act only upon the advice of the justices not merely as to law but also as to fact, the ultimate being reached when in 1935 the lords simply asked the justices if the crown had proved De Clifford guilty of manslaughter and upon their collective negative unanimously voted his acquittal.⁹¹ Ironically, the royal justices, from whose jurisdiction thirteenth century peers desired to escape by positive guarantees of trial by peers, came to be the actual triers of lords.

The procedure of peer trials did not give special favors to peers. Of the thirty-four peer trials (three of peeresses) since the Tudors accepted the principle, thirty-one were on capital charges. Noble treason was the most frequent capital charge, nineteen cases. There were ten murder trials, and one each for rape and bigamy when capital. The three noncapital cases, the first in 1841, were one each for dueling, bigamy, and manslaughter. Nine verdicts of acquittal (of which only two were of noncapital charges) were returned. Five others permitted the exercise of privilege of peerage. Eighteen verdicts

⁸⁶ Jeffreys was so unsure of himself that he told the accused that the steward was only a judge of law but had to be reminded by crown counsel that in his court *only* the steward was the judge of law. He hesitated to make rulings until the justices told him that the only valid rulings on law would be those by himself. The justices then refused to advise him about ruling on adjournment. His ruling (against adjournment) stands out as the one ruling given by the steward independently of judicial assistance. (*S.T.*, XI, 516, 524, 562.)

⁸⁷ And more usually the lord chancellor, who guided the legislative work of the peers, who understandably continued to look to him in their judicial work, particularly since the lord chancellor was the apex of the judicial hierarchy and most peers knew little law.

⁸⁸ In 1699 the peers accepted the opinion of the justices that certain witnesses were capable of testifying against Earl Warwick and Holland (who was charged with murder) after they had refused to accept the same view when given by the steward, Lord Chancellor Somers. (*S.T.*, XIII, 1004-20.) After this judicial support Somers conducted the remainder of the trial as he would. In the duchess of Kingston's trial for bigamy in 1776 the peers took no action on points of law until having the advice of the justices, whose opinion allowed her to exercise privilege of peerage. (*S.T.*, XX, 625-42.)

⁸⁹ *S.T.*, New Series, IV, 659-64, 666.

⁹⁰ *Proceedings in the Trial of the Earl of Russell* (House of Lords, 1901, Sessional Paper No. 165), pp. 18, 26. Halsbury had the lords give Russell a sentence of three months without hard labor under the first offender law rather than the seven years penal servitude required by the law (24&25 Vic. cap. 100, s. 57) supporting the indictment.

⁹¹ *Trial of Lord De Clifford* (House of Lords, 1935-36, Sessional Paper No. 12), p. 11.

of guilty plus two pleas of guilty make twenty trials where sentence was passed, nineteen of death and one of light imprisonment.⁹² These results do

⁹² *Capital Cases*—31

Treason:

1. Earl Warwick, 1499, pleaded guilty, death
2. Duke of Buckingham, 1522, guilty, death
3. Lord Dacres, 1535, not guilty
4. Queen Anne, 1536, guilty, death
5. Viscount Rochforde, 1536, guilty, death
6. Duke of Somerset, 1551, not guilty of treason but guilty of unspecified felony, death
7. Earl Warwick
Marquis of Northampton } 1553, guilty, death
Duke of Northumberland }
8. Duke of Norfolk, 1571, guilty, death
9. Earl Arundel, 1589, guilty, death
10. Earl Essex
Earl Southampton† } 1600, guilty, death
11. Lord Grey
Lord Cobham } 1603, guilty, death §
12. Earl Strafford, 1641, dropped (tacit acquittal)
13. Viscount Stafford, 1680, guilty, death
14. Lord Delamere, 1686, not guilty
15. Earl Derwentor
Earl Nithisdale†
Earl Carnwath†
Viscount Kenmure } 1716, pleaded guilty, death
Lord Nairn†
Lord Widdrington† }
16. Earl Wintoun,† 1716, guilty, death
17. Earl Oxford and Mortimer, 1717, not guilty
18. Earl Cromertie†
Earl Kilmarnock } 1746—pleaded guilty } death
Lord Balmerino } —guilty }
19. Lord Lovat, 1746-47, guilty, death

Murder:

1. Countess Somerset,† 1616, pleaded guilty, death
2. Earl Somerset,† 1616, guilty, death
3. Lord Morley,* 1666, guilty of manslaughter
4. Earl Pembroke,* 1678, guilty of manslaughter
5. Lord Cornwallis, 1678, not guilty
6. Lord Mohun, 1692, not guilty
7. Lord Mohun, 1699, not guilty
8. Earl Warwick and Holland,* 1699, guilty of manslaughter
9. Earl Ferrers, 1760, guilty, death
10. Lord Byron,* 1765, guilty of manslaughter

Rape:

1. Earl Castlehaven, 1631, guilty, death

Bigamy:

1. Duchess of Kingston,* 1776, guilty

Noncapital Cases—3

Dueling:

1. Earl Cardigan, 1841, not guilty

Bigamy:

1. Earl Russell, 1901, guilty, 3 months detention

Manslaughter:

1. Lord De Clifford, 1935, not guilty

*Exercised privilege of peerage

†Pardoned

‡Escaped

§Sentence commuted to imprisonment

not show that the procedure gave peers more lenient treatment than commoners, any favors coming from the substantive privilege of peerage.

There were grave disadvantages in the procedure to the accused peer, who could not waive it. The repeal of the 1341 law allowing such waivers made this clear.⁹³ In 1535 the justices said that Lord Dacres could not forego this right,⁹⁴ and Coke repeated the dictum in the next century.⁹⁵ Any remaining doubts were removed in 1887 by *Regina v. Lord Graves*, where the House of Lords as a final appellate court held that a peer indicted for treason or felony could be tried only by his peers, a right which pertained not to the individual peer but to the peerage as a class.⁹⁶ The accused peer faced difficulties unknown to the commoner. The lord could not challenge his triers nor appeal their decisions as to law or (unlike the commoner after 1907) as to fact; because his court of first instance was also the last. The Criminal Appeal Act of 1907 establishing the court of that name specifically closed it to convicted peers.⁹⁷ Other disadvantages were inherent in the procedure, which remained largely because of the paucity of peer trials during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Russell trial in 1901 furnished an occasion for an attack upon the procedure by the Irish Nationalists in Commons, but they made no progress.⁹⁸ Between this occasion and the next, the De Clifford case in 1935, the House of Lords had been reduced in power; and its further "reform" had become an object of some interest. After the De Clifford trial Viscount Sankey in February, 1936, presented a resolution that the procedure had "outlived its usefulness"; and the House of Lords passed it.⁹⁹ Later that year the Lords approved his bill abolishing trial of peers by peers.¹⁰⁰ The House of Commons ignored the bill,¹⁰¹ which died.

⁹³ See above, p. 70.

⁹⁴ *S.T.*, New Series, IV, 609, n. a.

⁹⁵ Pike, p. 227. In 1631 the justices reiterated this opinion prior to the Castlehaven trial. (*S.T.*, III, 402.)

⁹⁶ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d Series, CCCX, 246-48.

⁹⁷ 7 Edw. VII cap. 23, s. 20, sub-s. 2. In 1930 this prohibition was repeated in the law (20&21 Geo. V cap. 45, s. 45, sub-s. 2) establishing a court of criminal appeal for Northern Ireland.

⁹⁸ Swift MacNeil asked pointed questions ably parried by A. J. Balfour. (*Parliamentary Debates*, 4th Series, XCVI, 1365; XCVII, 435, 593-94; XCVIII, 1339-40.) MacNeil introduced a bill to abolish the procedure. ("Peers [Abolition of Privilege] Bill" in *British Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, 1901, III, Sessional Paper No. 268.) However, the government would give no time to the measure. (*Parliamentary Debates*, 4th Series, XCVII, 771, 1134-35.)

⁹⁹ By a vote of 45 to 24. In general, the supporters of the resolution were peers of more recent creation and spoke from the view of the individual peer with his problems if indicted. The minority was composed largely of holders of older peerages and considered the question in the light of the powers of the House of Lords. (*Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, House of Lords, XCLX, 381-418.)

¹⁰⁰ *An Act to Abolish Privilege of Peerage in Relation to Criminal Proceedings* (House of Lords, 1936, Bill No. 131). Misusing the term "privilege of peerage," the bill would have ended generally trial of peers by peers and repealed specifically the various statutory recognitions of the procedure. Introduced by Sankey on February 18, 1936, the bill was debated by the house on

In 1948 when the peers received from the Commons the Criminal Justice Bill, they inserted an amendment abolishing trial of peers by peers.¹⁰² The Commons accepted this amendment¹⁰³ so that the subsequent Criminal Justice Act (among many other things) ended this ancient procedure which had survived its feudal origin so tenaciously.¹⁰⁴

University of Southern California

April 28 and May 15, with the lines of opinion the same as on the earlier resolution. The final reading of the bill was passed without division. (*Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, House of Lords, XCIX, 617; C, 591-630, 791-823, 1000-03.)

¹⁰¹ It was given its *pro forma* first reading on May 27, but no time was given by the government for further action on it. (*Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, House of Commons, CCCXII, 2026; CCCXVIII, 1421.)

¹⁰² Viscount Simon suggested such an amendment, which was offered by Lord Chancellor Jowitt for the ministry, and which the house approved without division. (*Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, House of Lords, CLV, 403-404; CLVI, 373-76.)

¹⁰³ *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, House of Commons, CCCCLIII, 1586.

¹⁰⁴ 11&12 Geo. VI cap. 58, s. 30. Composed of two subsections and related to Part III of the Tenth Schedule of the law, section 30 is a briefer version of the 1936 bill.

A Note on World War II Naval Records

MARSHALL W. FISHWICK

WHEREVER the historian of modern America turns, he is confronted not only by highly complex events but also by staggering documentation. In records, as in so many aspects of our culture, we have adopted mass production. With about a quarter of the nation's working population in federal service (military or civilian) during World War II, the volume of government records rose to an estimated 18,000,000 cubic feet.¹ How to attack this mountain of material is one of the historian's major problems.

Considering the bulk of the military records, we are indeed fortunate to have at this early date such fine naval operational histories of the war as those by Morison, Karig, and Pratt.² But to have examined all the naval material was manifestly impossible, and for their purposes unnecessary. Hence great quantities of naval records, undoubtedly relevant for the social and cultural historian, as well as for such related disciplines as American studies, sociology, and anthropology, remain to be evaluated and used. This paper will attempt to summarize the location of important naval records of World War II, the scope of the material contained, significance of the collection known as the "Flag Files," and policy concerning the use of naval records by qualified civilians.

Perceiving the value of its records early in the war, the Navy Department, in October, 1941, set up a program under the administrative officer, concerned with the "planning, coördination, and administration of systems, methods, and procedures pertaining to organization, service, preservation, reduction, transfer, and disposition of files and records." An Eastern Record Center was established at Philadelphia and a Western one at Los Angeles. After a series of adjustments dictated by changing conditions, a system for

¹ Solon J. Buck, foreword to *How to Dispose of Records*, National Archives Publication No. 46-19 (Washington, 1946), p. i.

² Four volumes in Samuel Eliot Morison's *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Boston, 1947-49) have appeared to date: I, *Battle of the Atlantic, September 1939-May 1943*. II, *Operations in North African Waters, October 1942-June 1943*. III, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific, 1931-April 1942*. IV, *Coral Sea, Midway and Submarine Actions, May 1942-August 1942*. Walter Karig's naval history, entitled *Battle Reports . . . Prepared from Official Sources* (New York, 1944-48) includes four volumes: I, *Pearl Harbor to Coral Sea*. II, *The Atlantic War*. III, *Pacific War: Middle Phase*. IV, *The End of an Empire*. Fletcher Pratt has produced *The Navy's War* (New York, 1944), *Fleet against Japan* (New York, 1946), *The Marine's War* (New York, 1948), and, in collaboration with Captain L. A. Abercrombie, *My Life to the Destroyers* (New York, 1944).

handling the tons of records (including over a million operational documents) at appropriate centers was devised.

In addition, an Office of Naval History was established in July, 1944, to co-ordinate historical writing in the Navy. This office now has over 250 typescript volumes of "first narratives," prepared by various commands while the war was still in progress. Many are available for civilian research. All naval records up to 1927, as well as more recent administrative records, are under the care of the National Archives; the Office of Naval Records and Library, in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, D. C., maintains the principal noncurrent operational records received in the Navy Department since 1927. The Navy Department Library and various bureau libraries house the published volumes and special collections. A portion of this, naturally, is purely technical material.

The Office Methods Division, Administrative Office, Navy Department, serving as the Navy's archival activity, has under its supervision five Naval Records Management Centers throughout the country, in which 889,235 cubic feet of records await the historian. Among the specialized groups in this mass are the Flag Files of Fleet Commands (15,000 cubic feet), Overseas Bases Files (10,000 cubic feet), military personnel files (125,000 cubic feet), and ships' files (25,000 cubic feet). The most concentrated files dealing with operations are first those (previously mentioned) in the Office of Naval Records and Library, and second the Flag Files in the Naval Records Management Center, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. Because the latter is one of the most important but little-used collections, I shall describe it briefly.

The term "Flag Files" is used in this connection to designate files of any command responsible for the movements of more than one vessel or one aviation squadron. To use these files readily, one must be familiar with fleet organizations and relationships; accounts now completed or in preparation will, however, aid the historian in this respect. Much of the material, of course, is classified for security reasons. But the historian, before he considers the restrictions on the use of these files, will want to know what they contain that might be of value to him.

Until further declassification takes place, no one can give a final answer to this question. Beyond a doubt much source material is to be found here. Though the Washington files may show over-all operations more clearly, there is a wealth of material in Mechanicsburg to document and substantiate the broader picture. The historian, therefore will want to go there to examine the various pieces of the vast picture, particularly as specific episodes and periods begin to take on special significance.

Much material is, however, valuable even today—case histories, detailed accounts of social and psychological problems, cultural conflicts and adjustments, diaries, and uncensored documents which tell how thousands of human beings reacted to the complex and manifold conditions of global warfare. In the files one finds folders dealing with law and justice, housing, social relations, voting, libraries, recreation, religion, personnel, and publicity. Folders dealing with a score of cultural groups—such as, Germans, Russians, Polynesians—are here for future diplomatic historians and anthropologists. Though not so readily available as yet, the groups of date files, chronological files, and dispatches give a detailed picture of what war is like before and after the actual battles. This is the kind of information historians have tended to neglect; but many scholars today are resolved that the extensive non-military implications of World War II shall not go unheeded, nor the problem of integrating the total cultural picture go unsolved. As has been pointed out, “Nothing has been written as yet in the social and economic history fields [of the Navy]. A wealth of material for studies in these subjects exists, both in the ‘first narratives’ and in the files of the Bureaus of the Navy Department.”³

With such material untapped, and with all the historians connected with naval records pointing out the need for continuing the study and for writing more inclusive accounts than those already planned, the policy concerning the use of naval records by qualified civilians comes to the foreground. Restrictions on the use of records is of course necessary to preserve national security. At the same time, the Navy is anxious to have qualified civilians know of and use its invaluable collections. This was clearly indicated when on March 8, 1947, the then Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal, invited representatives of twenty-six learned societies to discuss the naval historical program, indicate further studies which should be made, and enlist the support of the societies. Much has been done since then to declassify material and make it readily available.

As for the use of classified records, clearance for their use by historians can be expedited by sending requests to the Director of Naval History, Navy Department, EXOS, Washington 25, D. C. Inquiries about the use of such material will be given careful consideration on an individual basis, in accordance with security regulations. The aim of the Navy’s record program has been, and will continue to be, the facilitating of historical research. How well historians use this, and the other great war collections which will be

³ *Summary of the Proceedings of the Naval History Conference of 8 March 1947* (Washington, 1947), p. 4.

available, remains to be seen. No group of intellectuals is faced with a more challenging and provocative field for research. The Navy stands ready with its great store of records to help the future historians who try to piece together the story of a gigantic world conflict which brought man to the threshold of a new day.

Washington and Lee University

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

Three Who Made a Revolution

A REVIEW ESSAY¹

FEW would today wish to deny that the Russian Revolution has, whether by attraction or repulsion, more than any other single cause transformed the social and political outlook of our time. It is strange, therefore, that more than thirty years after its occurrence so little sustained effort should have been made by Western historians to elucidate or even to construct in detail a factual account of the circumstances which led to this great historical upheaval. Neither the devoted labors of such non-Russian writers as Maynard, Pares, Chamberlain, Souvarine, and Deutscher, nor the publication of the state papers in the imperial archives, at one time thrown open so widely by the revolutionary governments, nor the autobiographies and memoirs of such participants and contemporaries as Trotsky, Sukhanov, Kerensky, Miliukov, Krupskaya, nor the material copiously poured out by exiles, foreign agents and diplomats, journalists and observers of every brand and hue, has thus far done more than provide the evidence upon which it is possible to build such great and abiding monuments as those by which the French Revolution, for example, has been commemorated. It will be said that conditions are very different: the kind of access to archives and indeed to eyewitness accounts, which was available to Thierry or Guizot or Mignet, is not open to modern researchers; partisan feeling still runs too high not to frighten off all but the most intrepid of objective historians; we are still too close to the facts; and so on. Yet these hardships can be exaggerated: despite the flatly unco-operative attitude of the Soviet authorities, a sufficient body of material exists in the West to make possible far more than has in fact been done.

The French Revolution had aroused passions no less violent or long-lived; thirty years should afford an adequate historical perspective; but a more real proof of the pudding has been provided by the triumphant use of his material by the author of this good and important book. It is the first volume of a projected study of the Russian Revolution, and begins with the lives and works of its three principal creators: Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. The story begins in the later nineteenth century, is continued to the outbreak of the First World War, and is the best and most complete account of its subject at present in existence in any language. Whatever its faults, it is a very notable achievement and wholly supersedes earlier works on the subject. The minute and scrupulous research with which facts and opinions are reconstructed and placed in their historical and personal setting is sustained in the face of all temptation to digress or fall into facile

¹ THREE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION: A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY. By *Bertram D. Wolfe*. (New York: Dial Press, 1948. Pp. 661. \$5.00.)

impressionism; and this alone gives Mr. Wolfe's work a degree of authority possessed by no other enterprise of similar scope in this field. For this reason it is, and is likely to continue for some years to be, the best exposition of its subject available to serious students.

There is a sense in which the task the author has set himself must of necessity be both difficult and dull: the lives of his three protagonists, except for the brief interlude of the Revolution of 1905, are mainly composed of tortuous, arid, bitter, and above all unending controversies and polemics which induce even in the scholar a sense of frustration and disgust comparable only to the least rewarding stretches of medieval scholasticism. A feeling of despair is bound to come upon the reader as he is led through this immense and waterless desert broken only by a few poverty-stricken oases, and if he and the author do not succumb, it is only because they know that the journey will suddenly end with a spectacle of terrifying grandeur. The revolutionaries with whom Mr. Wolfe's story is concerned were neither original thinkers nor, in the period under review, had they yet achieved notable results in the world of action. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky (not to speak of their successor) were, primarily, ideologists at all: scarcely any coherent new hypotheses, few bold new ideas can rightly be attached to their names. Lenin's celebrated view of imperialism, for instance, is plainly derivative, and in any case is wholly overshadowed by his concern with tactics in the realms both of theory and of practice. Since he was a man of very strong and fanatical personality he imparted to all that he did an easily recognizable form and temper, and thereby created an attitude and a technique of action—canons of behavior and of interpretation—which are commonly described as Leninism; but an attitude is not a doctrine, not a body of teaching, nor an original contribution to the sum of human thought or of human insights in the sense in which Marxism or Hegelianism or Utilitarianism can be so described. Leninism—and for that matter Trotskyism and perhaps even Stalinism (although this last is remarkably difficult to identify)—denote habits of thought and of action, psychological dispositions to react in this or that way to historical circumstances, ways and methods of thinking and speaking and dealing with situations which, however important and far reaching, cannot be reduced to independent theories or doctrines. "Leninism" and "Trotskyism," Menshevism and Bolshevism, are not (unlike Marxism) theories any more than "Bismarckism" or "Rooseveltism," which no one, fortunately, has yet conceived as "ideologies." The history of the movements which Mr. Wolfe describes is the history not of theories but rather of the interpretation and application of dogma by leaders of dissentient factions, of exercises in casuistry and hermeneutics, which often seem maddeningly obscure and petty but which acquire life and significance in the context of the political tactics which they seek to rationalize or justify, and of which they are always the most sensitive and revealing symptoms. In contrast with the less or more lucid and coherent ideological structures of the great Western thinkers of the nineteenth century in Germany and France, the works of Lenin and

his Russian contemporaries present a confused mass of social and economic analysis dedicated to party, and sometimes personal, problems as they arose, day-to-day journalism, polemical *boutades* notable in Lenin's case for powers of coarse and violent abuse which left even Marx far behind, *ad hoc* guides to immediate action, notes, memorandums, letters, bits and pieces of every kind and description, in which only the most devoted attention to the events and necessities of the moment by which they were generated can discern patterns and trends. Mr. Wolfe is at his best in these ungrateful but indispensable and valuable labors: he succeeds in revealing a certain kind of order—not an order of ideas but an intelligible pattern of action—beneath this, at first bewildering, chaos; with infinite patience and great intelligence he restores and clarifies, connects and explains. He has not, perhaps, the vivid sense of actuality which a participant in this confused world of perpetual disintegration and re-crystallization of parties, factions, fractions, minute groupings and re-groupings—which someone like the late Theodore Dan, upon whose work Mr. Wolfe must necessarily lean heavily—possessed to such a useful degree. But his gaze is more microscopic than that of Dan and far less exaggerated and doctrinaire; if he lacks the drive and brilliance of Trotsky, the mordant irony of Plekhanov, the dull sledge-hammer effectiveness of Lenin, he makes up for it by the workmanlike solidity, accuracy, and comprehensiveness of his all-inclusive method. The facts are presented in detail: in a world where so much vagueness and evasiveness, the influence of personal loves and hatreds and sometimes open dishonesty, distort and obscure the issue, and distract and exasperate the student, Mr. Wolfe has accomplished the most important of all tasks, the accumulation, reconstruction, and marshaling of the facts. He has extracted and laid bare the core of the events and verified the moves as they were made in the complicated game in which his heroes were engaged, and provided the evidence on which all dependable opinion must ultimately rest. If his account sometimes grows bleak, if the pages devoted to the question, let us say, of what Georgian or Armenian did or did not start the first clandestine press in Transcaucasia seem comparatively thankless and even trivial to the reader who is looking for the contours of the great historical process itself, at least the exaggeration is in the right direction: what has been lacking, from the point of view of those interested in the Revolution, has been less a view of the wood—which their own memories provide—than that of the individual trees; and if Mr. Wolfe sometimes forgets the trees for the shrubs and the dead wood lying unnoticed on the ground, that, in the present state of research in this field, must be accounted a virtue.

A graver criticism which may be urged against the author's method is that in the course of telling the day-to-day story of schisms and intrigues and maneuvers Mr. Wolfe forgets, or at any rate does not state, the central point of it all—the purpose and aim and ideal of the socialist movement, whatever the guise adopted by it in any given country or period or movement. At no point is the account of the facts illuminated by that deeply needed sense of direction, of the interplay of historical

conditions and human fears and aspirations which is responsible for the predicament of all the actors in the situation, revolutionaries and reactionaries, moderates and extremists, bourgeoisie and proletariat—which alone can give significance and importance to what is otherwise a succession of flat and disconnected episodes. The authors of the Revolution indulged in controversies which seem even to the sympathetic eye often insanely petty; they lose all significance whatever unless they are seen as a nodal point of a great historical pattern of which Marxism itself is but a large and important segment. Mr. Wolfe is so absorbed in the details of his heroes' lives and controversies that in effect he omits to bring this out, well as he must know it. He is at his weakest when dealing with ideas—thus he provides insufficient analyses of such crucial issues as “Economism” *vs.* political Social Democracy; democratic Menshevism *vs.* “Democratic Centralism”; Social Revolutionary views with their stress on personality in general and the peasant in particular *vs.* Marxist industrialism; and above all of the specific points of conflict and of agreement between the “soft” and the “hard,” humanist as opposed to ruthlessly antiliberal groups within the various parties both inside Russia and in the greater European world beyond. And yet without a firm sense of orientation among the leading ideas and the mental and moral outlook of the period, how can the reader be expected to appreciate the importance, let alone the full force, of the criticisms made by and of such figures as Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, Bernstein, Guesde, Plekhanov, etc., which are the very life blood of the Russian socialist movement? Indeed it is perhaps because of this curious aversion to the analysis of ideas that Mr. Wolfe fails to give his due to Plekhanov, who, during the period covered by this volume, was with Martov a more considerable figure than either Lenin or Trotsky; and makes his chapter on Lenin's own effort to produce a philosophical doctrine as dull and unconvincing as the doctrine itself. Mr. Wolfe relates the circumstances in which this ill-fated book was produced, and then vacillates between the view that Lenin thought a correct theory of knowledge to be indispensable to correct political judgment and the view that he did not, and more or less lends countenance to both hypotheses. But this is relatively unimportant beside the fact that he makes little sense of the theory itself—which has, after all, for thirty years been responsible for the bulk of ideological teaching in the Soviet Union—either by exposition or refutation. *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is probably the worst philosophical book in human history to have achieved any degree of celebrity, but this does not absolve the specialist on Lenin's intellectual development from the task of applying himself to a serious critical consideration of its contents and its influence; and this applies equally to Mr. Wolfe's failure to trace the process of gradual diminution of the utopian element in Lenin's thinking as afterwards in Stalin's—which is the Ariadne's thread in the labyrinth of Bolshevik “ideology.” This curious lack of discrimination in the realm of ideas on the part of an otherwise acute and serious author is paralleled by his equally odd unawareness of climates of thought and of gen-

eral historical contexts; too little is said about the history of the other classes and parties either in Russia or Europe, without which the growth of Russian Communism is almost unintelligible. This unhistoricism may in part be responsible for Mr. Wolfe's failure to distinguish what is important from what is trivial, in his account of the views of the three eminent revolutionaries. Thus, although he does indeed mention the celebrated episode at the crucial Congress of 1903 when Plekhanov, upon being asked whether even the fundamental civil liberties—the "inviolability of the individual" might have to go by the board if the Revolution demanded it, made the ungrammatical but fatally important reply, "*Salus revolutionis suprema lex*," Mr. Wolfe does not sufficiently treat it for what it was—the crucial breaking point of the entire movement, the real issue upon which Bolshevism split from the rest of Social Democracy, the awful moment which marked the birth of the sinister mood and attitude which has dominated Soviet Russia and world Communism ever since. Or again he lays justified stress on Lenin's agrarian opinions but does not discuss on what disagreements with orthodoxy they rest—what divided, let us say, Stalin, who, as Mr. Wolfe shows in an original piece of research, agreed with Lenin, from other Socialists. This persistent treatment of all facts as equally interesting and significant makes for a flat level in Mr. Wolfe's narrative which, without obscuring the story, makes it even more tedious than it must in any case to some degree remain. As if aware of this fault the author tries to enliven his style not altogether happily with touches of mythological fantasy and other flowers of speech. Thus the Goddess Success and Mistress Nature make disconcerting appearances in pages otherwise devoted to serious matters. History is suddenly described as a "sly and capricious wench." Why is Alexander III a "stern and atrabilious father"? "Atrabilious" is only the Latin equivalent of "melancholy," and no description fits that hearty emperor less well. And this is no stranger than the description of Herzen as "gentle," or Mill's logic as filled with "cool formalism," or, worst of all, a description of the new Russian industries of the nineties as "exhibiting a fantastic elephantiasis," which suggests an abnormal and diseased growth, when all that the author can mean is phenomenally rapid progress. On the whole it would have been better if Mr. Wolfe had kept to a steady jog trot without attempting sudden flights which merely serve to draw attention to the more homely virtues of his normal—and very useful—method.

Mr. Wolfe's true strength lies in detail: no other work moves so surely in the obscure world of parties and splinter parties, factions and heresies with their alternation of intrigue and crude force, nowhere else are such fine distinctions drawn between Boycottists, Ultimacists, Conciliators, Liquidators, Ot'zovists, V'peryodists, etc. It is therefore a pity that his use of names and titles should be so frequently slipshod, nor does the presence of numerous misprints improve the situation in a work otherwise marked by much impeccable scholarship. In the absence of a bibliography and detailed references some of Mr. Wolfe's facts seem subject to doubt.

The reference to Nicholas I as the son of Alexander I is doubtless a mere slip; but why does the author say that "bondage [in Russia] began to develop under Peter and Catherine"? Is it the case (after the isolated episode of Guchkov and his friends in 1881) that disaffected students laid wreaths upon the grave of the assassinated Alexander II in the Volkov Cemetery? The emperor was certainly not buried there, and it seems almost unthinkable that radical students of the eighties or nineties could have acted in this fashion. Was Plehve's attempt to inject anti-Semitism into government-controlled Socialism his own invention or did it have roots in the earlier anti-Semitism which derives from Ruge and Bakunin and occurs unexpectedly in some of the early propaganda of the *Zemlya i Volya*? Is the Taratuta episode more important than the horrible episode of Bauman, which Mr. Wolfe does not mention? Was Gapon a conscious police agent in 1903? Did he formulate the program of Bloody Sunday himself, or is Dan right in supposing that his workers' group was permeated by Socialist agitators of whose work Gapon at the time was scarcely aware? What part, if any, did the police play in the demonstration before the Winter Palace, and is it certain that Gapon was killed by direct orders of Azef?

But all this is of minor importance in contrast with the serious achievement of Mr. Wolfe. His two felicitous quotations, one from Lenin and one from Trotsky (p. 294), in which each makes a remarkable prophecy about the disastrous consequences likely to arise from the doctrines and practices of the other, are in a sense the central motif—and a very original and important one—of his entire work. His exposure of the legend, perpetually remade and enriched by the party's biographers whereby Stalin is made to play a vastly significant role in the Revolution at an improbably early age, in places and at times in which his name had scarcely been heard of even within his native Caucasian movement, is a model of remorseless historical exposure. Mr. Wolfe has made the most serious and successful attempt to date to draw a portrait both of Lenin and of Trotsky as men endowed neither with superhuman strength and virtue, nor with inhuman ruthlessness and brutality, but as thinkers and men of action still in some sense connected with the humanist and libertarian tradition of which eighteenth century rationalism and nineteenth century liberalism were the fine flower. Mr. Wolfe seizes on every "human" aspect of Lenin and of Trotsky, every disarming foible which he can discover, in his effort to draw the sharpest possible contrast between their intellectual and moral qualities and those of his *bête noire*—the present ruler of the Soviet Union. The result is impressive but not convincing: Lenin remains impersonal, remote, indifferent to the normal civilized values, and despite all his sensitiveness as a tactician, the prisoner of a fanatically simple view of history and mankind. Trotsky, despite Mr. Wolfe's partiality to his attractive qualities and faith in his accounts of the part which he and others had played (including a historically unpalatable representation of Trotsky's father as a simple rustic—"farmer Bronstein"—as Mr. Wolfe likes to call him), remains a figure

generating heat but himself curiously icy and rigid. But in the course of this labor of love (and hatred) Mr. Wolfe has laid bare more relevant facts and arranged them more clearly and honestly than any of his predecessors in a field which more than any other deserves the specialist's devoted skill. If he succeeds in completing his self-imposed task and writes the history of the Russian Revolution and its aftermath, he will have earned the respect and gratitude of all serious historians. As it is their debt to him is great.

New College, Oxford

ISAIAH BERLIN

General History

WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT: AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION FROM THE ORIGINS TO ROUSSEAU. By *John Bowle*, Lecturer in Modern History, Wadham College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. 472. \$5.00.)

THE writing of a history of political thought presents a problem which no one has yet solved satisfactorily. On the one hand political thought is more closely tied up with the historical process than any other field of thought and theory. Practically all the classics of the political tradition were written out of intimate first-hand acquaintance with politics. The few theorists who have not themselves taken a prominent part in the affairs of government were at least possessed by a burning longing for political activity and wrote works on politics largely because they could not be politicians themselves. In the last analysis every major political writer, however philosophical he may appear, wrote as a pamphleteer and addressed himself to a burning problem of the day.

But by the same token there really is no history of political thought. There is probably no theoretical field in which there is as little original thought as there is in political theory. Yet at the same time there is no other field in which there are as many independent thinkers. Precisely because the political theorist writes out of his own practical political experience, there are no "schools" in political theory, there is no continuity, indeed there is no development.

A history of political thought is therefore a contradiction in terms. It is possible, as Dean Sabine has done in his well-known text, to write a series of monographs arranged in chronological order. Whether the other alternative is possible and fruitful, whether in other words political thought can be presented as a part of general history, has yet to be proved.

Mr. Bowle's book—the present volume is only the first of a series of two and carries the story down to the end of the eighteenth century—is an attempt to treat political thought as part of general political history. Unfortunately it is not a successful attempt. A book such as Mr. Bowle's that attempts to "treat political think-

ers within the context of their contemporary social background" should at least give us some new understanding of the major historical periods if not of the major political thinkers. What Mr. Bowle has to say about both, however, borders on the trite. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that Mr. Bowle specializes in modern history and may, therefore, have found antiquity and the Middle Ages new and rather unknown territories. Certainly the treatment of Aristotle, of St. Augustine, and of St. Thomas Aquinas—let alone of Cicero or Dante or Machiavelli—does not indicate great familiarity with their works let alone any attempt to find out what these men were really concerned with. It is hoped that Mr. Bowle will have more to say about the nineteenth century, to which his second volume is to be devoted.

The freshest parts of the book are the ones dealing with English political thought in the Middle Ages. Mr. Bowle fails to realize that there is no essential difference between the constitutional doctrines of the English writers and the medieval tradition. To devote twice as much space to Bracton as to St. Thomas Aquinas hardly bespeaks a balanced view of the Middle Ages. Altogether, when it comes to English writers, especially to the English writers during the Middle Ages, Mr. Bowle shows signs of that English insularity of the "continent isolated" headline. But his very ignorance of the developments outside England makes him present the English writers with the enthusiasm, understanding, and interest which is so sadly lacking in his discussion of the rest. Unfortunately the style of the book throughout is "academic" in the worst sense of the word and shows no sign of the elegance and of the feeling for language which so often distinguishes English work in this field.

Bennington College

PETER F. DRUCKER

LES GRANDES OEUVRES POLITIQUES DE MACHIAVEL À NOS JOURS.

By *Jean-Jacques Chevallier*. Préface d'André Siegfried. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. xiii, 406. 600 fr.)

PROFESSOR Chevallier's book is the first volume of a new series, "Sciences politiques," published by Armand Colin in Paris under the auspices of the Fondation nationale des sciences politiques. French political literature has been rich in biographical and monographical studies, and relatively poor in general, systematic treatises covering, as Janet did so well in his day, the whole, or major portions, of the history of political ideas. Chevallier's substantial volume on the major political works of the last four centuries will therefore be welcomed by all students in the field, because it constitutes a serious attempt to present the major ideas of the modern era in clear and lucid language; in addition, the work gains from the fact that political ideas are related to the major social and political problems of each historical epoch reviewed by the author and are shown in their effect on a whole age rather than on this or that country only.

The first part of the book deals with the political theory of absolutism, as formulated by Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, and Bossuet. Chevallier tries to be as fair as possible to Machiavelli, but feels unable to avoid the conclusion that, from the long-term viewpoint, *The Prince* has been a work of "corrosive force and style" which has "tormented mankind over four centuries" (p. 37). By contrast, Chevallier is eminently objective, although personally imbued with liberal and democratic faith, in dealing with the other representatives of absolutism, particularly Bodin and Bossuet. The doctrines of Bossuet, quite unacceptable to a liberal when viewed abstractly, appear in a psychologically more favorable light when seen by a Frenchman against the background of the monarchy of Louis XIV, the "most beautiful, the best constituted monarchy in the world" (p. 77). The second section of the book has as its central theme the assault on absolutism, as represented by Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Sieyès. Chevallier feels especially attracted to Locke, who expounded, "once and for all" (p. 98), the bases of liberal democracy and individualism. On Rousseau, Chevallier shares with more recent writers—such as Lord Lindsay—the apprehension that Rousseau's political philosophy contains dangerous elements of exaggerated collectivism and romantic community worship. The third part of the book deals with the reactions to the ideas of the French Revolution, as expressed by Burke, Fichte, and De Tocqueville. The number of those who see in De Tocqueville the most provocative and stimulating political writer of the nineteenth century is steadily growing, and their view will be strengthened by the account in Chevallier's book. The fourth (and final) part takes up socialism and nationalism as the two major forces of the last hundred years, with particular emphasis on Marx and Engels, Maurras, Sorel, Lenin, and Hitler. Of special value is the discussion of Sorel's doctrines and their impact on revolutionary movements of the Left and Right. In a concluding chapter, entitled "Spirit against Leviathan," Chevallier briefly analyzes the contributions of some contemporary writers like Maritain, Alain, and Bertrand de Jouvenel, who have defended the traditional values of liberalism and individualism against the "neo-Machiavellian" absolutes of Race, State, and Class. This chapter comes closest to a statement of Chevallier's personal philosophy.

All in all, Chevallier's study of the major political works of the modern age can be strongly recommended. Half of the authors selected by Chevallier bear French names: this may impress some that Chevallier has been carried away by nationalist bias, although he consistently rejects nationalism in explicit terms. This reviewer, on the other hand, has been rather intrigued by Chevallier's choice of representative authors of the modern age; indirectly, Chevallier makes an overwhelming case for the vitality and richness of French political thought throughout the last four centuries, and it is to be hoped that American and British writers will follow his lead and give to the systematic study of French political ideas the care and weight which they deserve.

Princeton University

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN

FAREWELL TO EUROPEAN HISTORY, OR THE CONQUEST OF NIHILISM. By *Alfred Weber*. Translated from the German by *R. F. C. Hull*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. xx, 204. \$3.75.)

THE history to which this work, written by one of the few and outstanding survivors of pre-Weimar scholarship among the German historians, ask us to bid farewell is, in fact, a history in which Germany figured as a protagonist. If its end is brought about, as the subtitle seems to indicate, through the conquest of nihilism, this ought to be a farewell without tears. Germany, the author contends, "will never again become a sovereign, autonomous, competitive Power State. . . . Her existence in this sense is over and done with. That is the farewell we have to take from history as we have known it" (p. 179)—"we," being the German intellectuals and politicians. For this book, despite the sincere attempt of its author to avoid and to condemn the nationalistic bias of his generation, still is imbued with the ideology which considered Germany the center of the world.

The major part of this work, culminating in the passage quoted above, is a philosophical construction of Western history, which, even though repeatedly opposing Hegelian metaphysics of history, is fundamentally dependent upon Hegelian patterns of thought combined with a strongly antirationalistic transcendentalism. History, man, life, even inanimate nature appear as manifestations of mysterious powers; and such qualifications of irrational reality as *deep, dark-demonic, transcendental*—emotional clichés rather than clear concepts—used several times on almost every page, cannot fail to irritate the critical reader. The key concept of the author's theoretical framework, *immanent* or *immediate Transcendence* defined as "that which has been experienced in the presence of a terrible negative element, and can be consciously apprehended today and made our intellectual property" (p. 161), and again as "that which forces itself upon us as immediately experienced in the phenomenal world, and in ourselves insofar as we are part of it, whenever we ask ourselves what it is that we *cannot* understand in the conditional plexus" (p. 182), seems to this reviewer a pretty meaningless combination of words if not an outright contradiction in terms.

A considerable part of the book—fifty pages—is an interpretation of Nietzsche and his influence on the history of the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It contains hardly anything new and, as was usual in the climate of Heidelberg, largely overrates the import of the "transvaluator's" thought on the march of Western history.

Weber emphatically recognizes the collective guilt of the German people for the horrors of at least the Second World War and believes that the moral rehabilitation of his nation can be achieved only through a radical reform of education for the masses and through the creation of "a mechanism of elite-making," of an elite not only of intellect but still more of character. For it has been the lack of character in the intellectual and political leadership of Germany which is responsible for the catastrophe. But he fails to point out how the masses can be brought to

accept the leadership of the best among the Germans, a role which this elite never was called upon to exercise and hardly ever aspired to throughout the metamorphoses of the Reich.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

PAUL SCHRECKER

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT IN EUROPE: A SURVEY OF TRANSATLANTIC INFLUENCES. By *Haludan Koht*. [Publications of the American Institute, University of Oslo, in co-operation with the Department of American Civilization, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 289. \$3.75.)

THIS book by Professor Koht, the distinguished historian and public figure, is the first synthesis of our knowledge of American influence on Europe, and herein lies its chief importance. It was not necessary for Professor Koht to call attention to the history of professional interest in the subject he has explored. But it may be worth noting that the syllabus Professor William F. Allen of Wisconsin used in the 1880's included "The Reactions of America on Europe." Doubtless Allen owed this approach to his Göttingen professor, Arnold H. L. Heeren. In essays written in 1891 and 1892 Frederick Jackson Turner emphasized the need for investigating American influence abroad. But it remained for Chinard, Wittke, Scott, Hovde, Stephenson, Heindel, Southard, Spiller, Gohdes, Cowley, and many others in this country, and for Faÿ, Cestre, Spoerri, and their colleagues in Europe, to work out specialized studies. Professor Koht has leaned heavily on some of these; but in some cases he has examined newspapers, reports of royal commissions and parliamentary committees, and *belles lettres*. He has also made excellent use, notably in his chapter on the Civil War, of the reports of American ministers and consuls abroad.

Professor Koht does not define "the American spirit." But he has in mind the more or less tangible contributions of American technology, business organization, political and social institutions, philanthropy, architecture, and diplomacy; the more intangible influence of our ideas of democracy and of the dignity, freedom, and opportunity of the individual; and finally, our system of education and the philosophy developed by James and Dewey. He has properly recognized that the genius of American institutions and ideas consisted less in originality than in the demonstration that things before held to be impossible were here possible.

It appears that the American spirit influenced Europe in two main ways. On the one hand, in attracting millions of immigrants it created as well as solved problems in the homelands. Emigration sometimes quickened movements for social reform as a means of checking the outflow of peoples which some in authority regarded as dangerous. On the other hand, the relative success of American democracy became an important ideological instrument in the struggles of European lib-

erals and conservatives. In the first half of the nineteenth century the example of America encouraged the liberals in their efforts to broaden the suffrage, to abolish mercantilism and adopt the American-sponsored principle of freedom of the seas, to separate church and state, to adopt principles of the American Constitution in Norway and Belgium, and to borrow the jury system and the penal reforms that had been worked out across the Atlantic. European liberals also took heart from the American unofficial demonstration of the potentialities of effective, large-scale organization for promoting such causes as the emancipation of women, temperance, and world peace.

Since the Civil War American influence has been primarily important in the economic and political spheres, although Professor Koht shows that it has been by no means negligible in architecture, art and recreation, philanthropy and journalism, in literature, education, and philosophy. The technological devices of the pre-Civil War era—vulcanized rubber, small arms made according to the principle of interchangeable parts, agricultural machinery, the steamboat, telegraph, anesthesia, to name but a few, were now supplemented by the streetcar, elevator, telephone, electric light, the typewriter, cash register, and adding machine. Taylorism and like devices for promoting business efficiency enjoyed acclaim. In the twentieth century in ever-increasing amounts capital itself crossed the Atlantic with implications that were far-reaching. All these matters Professor Koht discusses, together with a good deal of well-known economic and diplomatic history. Although the American spirit ceased to be regarded in the revolutionary sense of the early nineteenth century, the traditional conservative fear of America did not cease.

Professor Koht draws his chief illustrations from Great Britain, the Scandinavian lands, and Belgium. He does not deal with eastern and southern Europe. At many points there is a tendency to take too seriously verbal parallelisms and mere statements of impact and to accept illustrations as proof. Much more research in European materials will be necessary before the historian can say with any exactness just how the power structure, the prevailing and dissident movements of thought, and the particular situation influenced the reception of American imports, especially in the sphere of ideas. Despite his focus, which is Europe, Professor Koht realizes that the American-European traffic has been a two-way affair, that interdependence, especially in recent times, has been of paramount importance. But many of the implications of this recognition remain to be probed.

Although Professor Koht expresses his indebtedness to others and in no sense regards his work as definitive, the book is a very creditable and important achievement. It will certainly stimulate further investigations. If some may feel that Professor Koht has been too flattering in his treatment of the American spirit abroad, we may nevertheless be grateful that the first synthesis of this material has been made by one who wishes us well and by so perceptive and skillful a historian.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

TECHNOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Edited by *William Fielding Ogburn*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 202. \$4.00.)

MORE serious study has been going on during the past four years on the effects of technological developments on international relations than in all previous history. This is quite understandable when one considers the revolutionary advances in the application of science and technology that occurred during and immediately following World War II. The most searching study of these forces that has yet been undertaken occurred during the twenty-fourth Annual Institute of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, in early May, 1948, the subject of which was "Technology and International Relations." The amazing number of inventions and scientific discoveries in transportation, communication, and mechanical power, all of which have a bearing on international relations, was the major reason for selecting this central theme. Also, the period immediately following a war is always marked by basic, fundamental policies of one nation toward another. And, since the basic elements of any new policies will be determined in large part by these new and revolutionary developments in science and technology, the Harris Institute's decision to explore this significant field was a timely choice, and the book under review gives a much wider circulation to the papers presented on that occasion.

William F. Ogburn, in a paper entitled "The Process of Adjustment to New Inventions," lays special emphasis upon the factor of technology and its role in international relations. Numerous cases are cited, one of the most significant being the repeated demands on the part of Great Britain that France and her interests be placed high on the list of all future international conferences. The reason, of course, is that the new rocket and the improved airplane render the English Channel obsolete as a defense zone. Adjustment to a new technology makes it imperative to have France's friendship.

Hornell Hart, in discussing "Technology and the Growth of Political Areas," strikingly points up the relationship between improved transportation technology and an expanding political power. And Abbott Payson Usher advances the view that international relations are affected mainly by two classes of technological change: broad changes affecting the world economy as a whole and specific changes in the technology of warfare. The maritime world created by the age of discovery has passed and the future world of continents is at hand. In such a world of continents, Professor Ogburn predicts that the new developments in aviation will ultimately lead to co-operative efforts on the part of states to restrict bombing by air. "The airplane favors the large state" (p. 92).

William T. R. Fox, in discussing atomic energy and international relations, points out the efforts that are being made to discover, in advance and in time to avoid extinction, the rules for controlling atomic energy. And Robert D. Leigh, in a stimulating paper on "The Mass-Communications Inventions and International

Relations," focuses his attention on modern mass communications—communication which extends immediately beyond face-to-face contacts. Mass mediums must be reckoned with in all future national and international developments.

Bernard Brodie, in discussing "New Techniques of War and National Policies," deals with national, rather than international, policies, and devotes his attention to the effect that the newest weapon, the atom bomb, will have upon our national policies, such as the willingness or unwillingness of the public to evacuate city areas and of business to disperse its varied units in case of attack. The concluding paper, "Modern Technology and the World Order" by Quincy Wright, reviews historically the general trends toward interconnected, interdependent, standardized, organized world order. A world order is now a necessity. A world union arising from consent is more likely to succeed than one arising from conquest.

Statesmen, diplomats, educators will do well to read and ponder the effects of these new forces—science and technology. The way they are used will determine the world's future.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

A HISTORY OF PALESTINE FROM 135 A.D. TO MODERN TIMES. By *James Parkes*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. 391. \$5.00.)

PALESTINE is a holy land, sacred to Christians, Jews, and Moslems alike; and, at certain periods in its history, each of the three groups has exercised exclusive control. But Palestine is also the crossroads of the Middle East and of vital importance in the world struggle. Thus, holy land though it be, religious animosities, ethnic and nationalist disputes, and great power rivalries have combined to render developments there unusually complex and controversial.

In endeavoring to set the problems of modern Palestine in their proper historical perspective, Dr. Parkes undertakes a difficult, if timely, task. But his rich cultural background—the author is a scholarly English clergyman who has written prolifically on Jewish and Christian history, as well as on religious problems generally—has stood him in good stead. He begins with a brief survey of Palestine history from earliest times to the suppression of the last great Jewish rebellion against Rome in 135 A.D. and then describes at length the varied fortunes of the land and its inhabitants under the Romans and Byzantines and the later conquerors. About one quarter of the book is concerned with the period since 1914, with separate chapters devoted to the First World War and its effects on Palestine, the British administration from 1918 to 1930, the breakdown of the mandate in the thirties, and the collapse and abandonment of the British administration following the Second World War.

This book is a good one and, though written for the general reader rather than the professional historian, contains a wealth of interesting detail. The treatment

is objective and controversial topics are handled with insight and understanding. There are a dozen or so useful maps and the bibliography is extensive and carefully classified. Greater realism might have been displayed in dealing with questions of strategic bases and oil and with the play of great power, particularly British, politics in the Middle East (although the treatment here constitutes some improvement over that found in the author's *The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939*, published by the same press in 1946). However, this reviewer is of the opinion that the history student, as well as the general reader, will benefit from this volume and will find it a welcome antidote to the polemical literature which has created so much confused thinking and misunderstanding in this field.

Rutgers University

SYDNEY H. ZEBEL

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST FROM THE RISE OF ISLAM TO MODERN TIMES. By *George E. Kirk*. (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. 301. \$3.75.)

LIKE Brockelmann's *History of the Islamic Peoples*, Kirk's *Short History of the Middle East* is drawn mainly from secondary sources, but unlike Brockelmann's this book makes interesting reading. The author, a classical scholar who worked in Palestine as an archaeologist and is now a member of the faculty of the Middle East Center for Arabic Studies, has made his contribution in the treatment of the last century and a half to which about two thirds of the volume is devoted. In fact the earlier part, covering the rise of Islam and the Arab caliphate, the principal Moslem dynasties, the Mongol invasions, and the expansion of the Ottoman empire are but sketchily discussed. The material serves as a background for the portrayal of the modern scene, in which the main interest of the author seems to lie. Iran receives but scanty treatment. The eight maps illustrating this early period are likewise sketchily drawn. Few of the cities cited in the text appear on the maps. In the modern period justice is done to the rivalry between Great Britain and the other powers, the growth of nationalism, the struggle for independence, and the present-day economic conditions. The reviewer knows of no better up-to-date treatment of these topics anywhere.

This, however, does not mean he agrees with the author on all points including those of interpretation. To take one example only: On pages 284-85 we are told that, in creating Grand Liban and annexing the Syrian hinterland, France was actuated by the policy of protecting the Lebanese Christians. The fact is that the annexed parts, whether coastal or inland, once formed an integral part of Lebanon and were considered by the Lebanese, Moslems as well as Christians, as vital for the existence of Lebanon as an independent state. Nor does the reviewer approve of the recent tendency to use the term Middle East—initiated by the British War Office in the last war—for the time-honored and more appropriate term Near East. In this book the author applies "Middle East" to the Arabic-speaking

lands of western Asia and northeastern Africa together with Anatolia and Iran. A few minor slips were observed. The title of Van Ess's book, *Meet the Arab*, is wrongly given (p. 178, n. 1.). Another title (p. 37, n. 3) is wrongly marked "*op. cit.*" Sulayman I is made Sulayman III (p. 61). This Sulayman is sometimes called II because there was before him (1403-10) a claimant by the same name. The name does not occur in the index, which is far from being complete.

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

ARABIAN OIL: AMERICA'S STAKE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By Raymond F. Mikesell and Hollis B. Chenery. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 201. \$3.50.)

Two economists, combining economic analysis with diplomatic history and international politics, have produced this useful study of Middle Eastern petroleum with the ultimate objective of developing some reasoned suggestions for an international oil policy for the United States. They find "the key to the future development of petroleum in the Middle East . . . not so much in the profit and loss statements of the private companies but in the international, economic, and political environment of the postwar period."

Believing as they do that no petroleum-producing area can be treated in isolation, the authors have sketched an account of world production accompanied by an account of the leading petroleum companies. They show that the economic structure of the international oil industry has grown up in response to the quest for profit with the result that a few large international companies dominate petroleum production and marketing. Since the authors believe these large units are economically necessary, they feel that American policy should seek to control only the dangerous features of cartelization by international co-operation. Whether this end would be served by their proposed international commission with advisory but not mandatory functions is questionable.

Historians should not expect to find a full account of the course of oil diplomacy, since the authors are interested in historical background only as it assists them in analyzing the future prospects for Middle Eastern oil. They do indicate that, except for the diplomatic assistance which finally aided American companies in entering the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1928, the State Department did not feel that national interest required its active efforts until World War II forced future petroleum requirements on the national consciousness. More useful to diplomatic historians is the brief theoretical analysis of international petroleum economics, a problem for the historian because of the dearth of useful material. This analysis, relegated to the appendix, could have served as an introductory chapter since it contains assumptions implicit throughout the entire study.

The study also contains an examination of the general features of concessions contracts in the Middle East, the specific concessions in each country, special ref-

erence to American operations in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein, and a thoughtful chapter devoted to the impact of petroleum on the primitive economies of the Middle East. There are valuable statistical charts in the appendixes.

Pennsylvania State College

JOHN A. DeNOVO

A HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST. By *W. E. F. Ward*. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. 387. \$4.50.)

RAPID changes in the Gold Coast, one of Britain's richer and more advanced colonies, are arousing an interest which assures a welcome to new books on this West African dependency. Mr. Ward writes from the vantage point of sixteen years' experience in the Gold Coast, where he spent considerable time in the difficult task of studying history from the oral tradition of tribal elders. His book, however, relies for the most part on secondary sources, particularly W. W. Claridge's monumental *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, published in 1915, and R. S. Rattray's anthropological studies. He has not made use of material in European archives.

In his opening remarks, the author announces his intention to supplement Claridge's 1915 study by bringing it up to date, and states that he has "compressed the story of military and diplomatic affairs to leave more room for social and economic history." In actual fact, however, the book contains 317 pages dealing largely with the drum and trumpet history of tribal wars and European rivalries covered by Claridge, and concludes with a 28-page chapter on constitutional history from 1874 to 1946, and a 16-page summary of social and economic developments from 1874 to 1938.

The author is impartial in his discussions of British policy and shows keen insight in understanding African customs, beliefs, and traditions. Like Claridge he points out the mistakes of British officials in the Gold Coast, mistakes which were often the result of ignorance of African customs.

Readers unversed in African history will probably gain a new impression of African abilities and culture from this book. Ward gives a good description (pp. 108-19, 133-34) of the remarkable achievement of a powerful chief, Osei Tutu, and a "priest of extraordinary genius," Okomfo Anokye, in uniting a group of diverse tribes into the organized state of Ashanti in the central part of the Gold Coast. A further indication of African capacities is the abortive Mankesim Constitution of 1871 (pp. 248-55), which was signed by thirty-three chiefs of the Fante Confederation, and which included as one of its objects the establishment of "schools for the education of all children within the Confederation." Disagreeing with Claridge, Ward believes that the British government "lost a great opportunity" by opposing this Fante effort.

Washington, D. C.

VERNON McKAY

Ancient and Medieval History

HISTORY OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY. By J. Oliver Thomson, Professor of Latin in the University of Birmingham. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 427. \$10.00.)

THE publication of this book on which the author has been engaged for many years is most welcome. Its plan is chronological. After an opening chapter on the pre-Greek civilizations of the Near and Middle East, Mr. Thomson deals successively with four periods: from Homer to Alexander, the earlier Hellenistic Age, the century and a half during which Rome won political domination over the eastern Mediterranean, and the Roman Empire. A concluding chapter is devoted to the decline, that is, from the end of the second century A.C. to the early Middle Ages. In each section exploration and discovery are described first and, as far as possible, regionally (Europe, Africa, Asia). A chapter is then assigned to geographical theory in the period previously described. These scientific chapters, illustrated by many maps and plans, are admirable (historians of science, please note!) and in some ways form the most interesting part of the book. As the author explains, his manuscript was ready for press in the autumn of 1943. He has brought it right up to date by additional notes (pp. 394-413) containing references to recent publications or to material previously overlooked by him.

Mr. Thomson has had a hard task; for, on the one hand, he has had to traverse all Greek and Latin literature, and, on the other, the geographical works that survive from antiquity are all in some degree unsatisfactory. Even Strabo, who is perhaps the best of the extant writers, is very limited in his outlook. He "rejects Pytheas wholesale and thereby ruins the map of Europe" (p. 321); and his failure properly to grasp the scientific work of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, whose books are lost, is deplorable. Ptolemy was primarily interested in astronomy. His *Geographica*, though it is the fullest scientific treatise to survive, is solely concerned with map making—a list of zones, parallels, and places, with their positions calculated from astronomical data or, far more often, from the accounts of travelers. The broad impression that one forms from reading this book is one of disappointment at the narrow outlook of all but a handful of Greeks and Romans. The comparative rarity of serious exploration can be attributed in part to difficulties of transport and lack of adequate equipment. But when new discoveries were made, they were too often disbelieved or at least did not become a part of the common stock of knowledge. Eratosthenes' remarkable calculations, of which Mr. Thomson writes (pp. 159 ff.) with justifiable enthusiasm, were not generally adopted; and it is surely astonishing to note the prevailing ignorance of the North African hinterland, after Rome had long been mistress of the coastal areas, or of parts of Asia that had been crossed by Alexander and some of his successors, or to observe the strangely inaccurate notions that still persist in Ptolemy about the Atlantic seaboard and about the interior of Germany.

While this book is worthy of all praise as a thorough, fully documented investigation of a difficult subject, it is not easy to read or to use. A mass of detail often obscures the main topics, and it would have been helpful if the author had added a brief summary to each chapter, pointing out its most significant features. The notes are composed in a telegraphic style and sometimes run to nine or ten lines. They contain references to both ancient sources and modern authorities and the allusion to a particular fact or interpretation has to be identified by a key word. Polybius' criticism, for example, of Timaeus' "arm-chair" knowledge of geography is mentioned (p. 140). Note 1 on the same page is composed of references to six different matters in the text, that to Polybius appearing thus: "Arm-chair, Polybius, XII, 25." It would, however, be unjust to overstress these faults of presentation, where much of the matter is so intractable. The fact remains that serious students now have two good books in English to consult on the geography of the ancients. They should first read Max Cary's *Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (New York, 1949) and then should follow this up by working through Mr. Thomson's copiously annotated account of geographical discovery and his authoritative discussion of what the best of the Greeks achieved in map making and scientific theory.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

THE STRANGER AT THE GATE: ASPECTS OF EXCLUSIVENESS AND CO-OPERATION IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME, WITH SOME REFERENCE TO MODERN TIMES. By *T. J. Haarhoff*, Head of the Department of Classics, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. (2d ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1948. Pp. xii, 354. 12s.6d.)

PROFESSOR Haarhoff writes pleasantly and passionately on the need of spiritual effort, if our own civilization is to survive. In order to further this worthy cause, he surveys the successes and failures of the Greeks and Romans in the field of co-operation and concludes with modern parallels and applications, particularly for South Africa, his own country. The result is an interesting and instructive book. Though there is little new, it is valuable to have the whole subject laid out as a unit, but the danger is that, to score heavily for antiquity, much must be glossed over.

Perhaps, however, antiquity's broad political lesson is best found in terrifying failure no less than in noble effort. Of all the centuries B.C. that have a lesson for us, the fourth is pre-eminent. Plato, Aristotle, and Praxiteles notwithstanding, the picture is a black one of constant warfare, personal disillusionment, economic depression, all leading to the universalism of Alexander the Great. Alexander is well portrayed in this book (especially pp. 72-84), but he loses meaning without sufficient background shadows. And of all the centuries A.D., it is the amazing second which has the greatest warning for us. Mankind had never been so prosperous,

nor had peace ever been so long and profound. Yet this century, conspicuous for its lack of initiative (as the years had increasingly been since Actium), produced no great book, no new idea in government, no new principle in art or science, no significant technological advance; and collapse lay immediately ahead. Professor Haarhoff, however, offers no explanation of these apparent contradictions and limits himself to a eulogy of the period (pp. 288-91). We miss, too, a penetrating discussion of the rise of Christianity (p. 292). Pagan letters declined because they stressed form rather than substance and were addressed to a narrow, educated circle, whereas Christian literature carried its message to all and was full of vitality. Was this not due to the fact that the Christians were engaged in competition, bitter strife with government, pagans, and heretics? This is but another way of saying that they had faith in themselves and their cause. If strife at a high level, rather than steadfast co-operation, is a major key to an understanding of the successes of the Greek city-state, or indeed of any society, some one will have to discover a way to maintain it without degenerating into atomic annihilation.

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

CICERO AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *F. R. Cowell*. With a Foreword by Allan Nevins. (New York: Chanticleer Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 306. \$5.00.)

Most popular books on Greek and Roman history rely for their general appeal on historical analogy, or on the claim that the period or aspect treated is "philosophically contemporary" with the author's own time or with one of its aspects. Cowell's book is no exception to this rule. He insists repeatedly that the rise of ruthless and autocratic forces and the decay of liberty and free government characteristic for the Ciceronian age resemble similar developments, now arrested, in contemporary Germany and Italy. His condemnation of Caesar is accordingly both extremely hard and uncompromising.

Another thesis of Cowell's book is its socio-economic approach to the problems of Roman history. This attitude, demanded by the publisher, may well contribute to the general appeal of the book in this age dominated by the social sciences. The numerous chapters dealing with the social and economic conditions in republican Rome are satisfactory and make good reading, although they may contain little that is new to any serious student of Roman history. The historical narrative, however, and especially the treatment of the political organization (chapters v-xi) are less satisfactory. They contain numerous minor inaccuracies and they have to stand comparison with some of the famous accounts by ancient and modern authors. The handsomely printed isotype charts (on which references to the text should not have been omitted) may be the first, but so far not entirely successful, attempt at introducing pictorial (or visual) statistics into the field of ancient history.

In a field like social and economic studies for which the literary evidence is

both scarce and exclusively incidental, the modern historian has an entirely free hand. In dealing, however, with matters in which the ancients themselves were interested, such as military and political history, a re-evaluation of the evidence is necessarily associated with a viewpoint distinctly different from that held in antiquity. Yet Cowell's stated excuse for writing so much on the Roman Republic and so little on Cicero is his desire to let the reader view the past through the eyes of Cicero. To give us Cicero's concept of Roman history and civilization was indeed a worth while, and to my knowledge novel, way of telling the story of the Roman Republic. Cowell, although very much under the influence of modern interpretations, has on the whole accomplished his task with surprising success.

The book is well and competently written and beautifully printed and illustrated. There are many appropriate quotations in it, but none of them is identified as to its origin. The student will miss adequate maps, and he will notice that the bibliography contains almost exclusively titles of books written in English or translated into English.

Finally, the author should be praised for having chosen a period which has received too little attention and too little space in our one-volume histories of Rome.

Princeton University

ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHER

BYZANTINE EGYPT: ECONOMIC STUDIES. By *Allan Chester Johnson* and *Louis C. West*. [Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 6.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 344. \$5.00.)

THE period covered by this work is from the reforms of Diocletian in 297 A.D. to the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 A.D. Its scope is the economic life of Egypt during these centuries discussed under the categories of the land with its various types of use and tenure; the people in their local political groups and their economic activities other than farming; the military establishment with particular attention to the burdens of recruitment and procurement of supplies; and taxation in its multifarious forms. This survey is based upon an extremely careful and thorough analysis of papyrus documents from Byzantine Egypt supplemented by evidence from the imperial constitutions, contemporary literature, and archaeological investigations. Quite justifiably, the authors feel that, although many papyri from the period remain unpublished and new finds may well be expected, they are in a position to give a fundamentally sound basis for further study in this field.

This is by no means a mere collection and analysis of economic data, but a study of challenging interest both to papyrologists and all other students of the Late Roman Empire, since the general picture of economic conditions in Byzantine Egypt presented by the authors differs in many important aspects from that hitherto generally accepted. In the first place they question the validity of conclusions drawn from the imperial codes regarding social and economic conditions of the empire at large. Then, as for Egypt in particular, they point out that it

formed a unique geographical and cultural area which did not follow the general pattern of administrative and economic development experienced by the other provinces but varied from this to a substantial degree.

In the authors' opinion, large landed proprietorships grew slowly in Egypt and never became very numerous, and at the same time the land reforms of Diocletian greatly improved the status of the peasants, most of whom became landholders and never degenerated, as elsewhere, into a state of serfdom. The nome capitals did not reduce their nomes to the status of municipal *territoria*, while the villages may have acquired *territoria* of their own. As a result of the abolition of the poll tax for the urban population, the Egyptian element in the rural towns gained equality with the heretofore privileged Greeks. This, coupled with the rise of the native village peasantry, was responsible for the decline of Greek cultural influences and the rise of a Coptic Christian civilization. Particularly important is the discussion of taxation, where it is demonstrated that, in spite of Diocletian's intention, there is no evidence for the introduction of a capitation tax levied on the agricultural workers.

Although greatly impressed by the arguments of the authors, the reviewer is not wholly convinced of the validity of all of their generalization, in particular their favorable picture of economic conditions in the Byzantine Empire. On this, and on other points, further investigation is called for.

University of Michigan

A. E. R. BOAK

LE MONDE BYZANTIN. By *Louis Bréhier*. Volume II, LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN. [L'Évolution de l'humanité, Synthèse collective, XXXII.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1949. Pp. xviii, 631. 900 fr.)

Two years after the publication of the first volume of *Le Monde byzantin* (1947), entitled *Vie et mort de Byzance*, which deals mostly with the political history of the empire, L. Bréhier, in 1949, has published the second volume of his work, *Les Institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, which is devoted to the description and appreciation of the internal structure of the empire and its organization. I may describe this volume as a sort of Byzantine encyclopedia for the internal history of the empire. Since such a vast subject covering the whole period of the empire deals with manifold complicated and sometimes debatable problems, we cannot imagine that the author could be a specialist and original investigator in all of them; so that, in presenting and interpreting one or another problem, he unavoidably must depend upon the works of other writers who have made special studies in the respective fields. So, certain omissions and casual errors are inescapable in a work of this sort; but the latter, being of minor significance, do not affect the general value of the work.

The work under review consists of four books of various lengths. Book one (pp. 1-88) is devoted to the emperor: to the sources of his power, to the various

data connected with it, such as the succession to the throne, the imperial family, the imperial official titles; in the same section, the author interprets the imperial doctrine as it was understood in Byzantium and describes the official life of the emperor. Books two, three, and four describe and interpret the colossal administrative machinery of the empire. Book two, entitled "L'exercice du pouvoir" (pp. 89-217), deals with the hierarchy and the state servants. In this book we find a picture of the administrative transformations during the long period of the empire, the methods of the government, the fundamental laws, as well as a special section on the administration of Constantinople, including the Hippodrome and the organization of the demes. The lengthy book three, "Les grands services de l'État" (pp. 218-429), is devoted to a detailed description of the elements which represent the very essence of the internal structure of the empire: justice, finances, diplomacy, the imperial post organization, the army and the defense of the empire, as well as the imperial navy. Book four (pp. 430-579) deals with the church institutions. The author describes the juridical status of the church, the history of the patriarchates, and the limits of their jurisdiction; then he passes to the secular clergy and to the monasteries, to the regular clergy, to the monks, and a picture of monastic life. A brief conclusion (pp. 580-86) ends the text. Then follow a list of abbreviations, an ample bibliography, a general index, and the table of contents.

The author is very well acquainted with all kinds of primary sources and secondary works in all European languages, including Slavonic. The deplorable system of references adopted by the series "L'Évolution de l'humanité," in which Bréhier's book is printed, is, of course, not his fault. The general reader interested in the organization of the Byzantine Empire will find in the book a great deal of useful and new information. The real quality of this may be duly appreciated only by a person able to estimate adequately the value of the material upon which the treatment is based. And I have the feeling that detailed criticism may discover in the new volume some gaps and misconceptions. Having at my disposal a very limited number of words, I am unable to enlarge upon these.

But I think that such works as D. Belyaev's two Russian monographs on the Great Palace and the Imperial Processions (1891-1892) as well as the fundamental Russian work of N. Skabalanovich (1884) should have been used, or at least mentioned. The passage on *pronoia*, with its inadequate references (p. 386), must be supplanted by the special monograph on *pronoia* by Th. Uspensky. The statement concerning the legal establishment of the celebration of Christmas on December 25 in the whole empire by Justin I (p. 437) should be omitted, because our vague evidence which mentions the name of Justin means Justin II, not Justin I. In this case, Bréhier was misled by Pargoire's book *L'Église byzantine de 527 à 847*.

In anticipation of detailed reviews of the book, I wish to congratulate L. Bréhier, who, after so many years of fruitful, strenuous, and noble work, has given us a book of vast learning and great importance.

Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks

A. A. VASILIEV

THE PHOTIAN SCHISM: HISTORY AND LEGEND. By *Francis Dvornik*.
(New York: Cambridge University Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 504. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Dvornik, whose researches and publications on the history of the Byzantine Church during the ninth century have already won him great fame, has crowned his achievements in this field with a penetrating study of Photius (patriarch of Constantinople, 858-67, 877-86). By patient and minute examination of the evidence, he proves that the traditional Latin view, according to which Photius is denounced as an arch-heretic and enemy of church unity, is false and must be set aside. He finds that the enemies and rivals of Photius have distorted the record so completely as to reverse what should have been the verdict of history.

In a masterpiece of historical reconstruction, solidly and impressively documented, he shows that Photius, who was canonically elected, consecrated, and enthroned, was chosen in 858 to succeed the patriarch Ignatius, after the latter had resigned. This is in itself a startling discovery, inasmuch as it was previously believed that Ignatius had been deposed from the patriarchal throne by force. This error (pp. 47 f.) rests in part on the willful or inadvertent mistake of translation made by Raderus in his Latin version of one of the key documents, in which he renders the Greek word ἀπόταξις ("resignation") by *depositio*.

In 867 Photius was induced to yield the patriarchal throne to Ignatius, and in 869-70 was subjected to abuse and anathematization at a Constantinopolitan synod that designated itself, and was later erroneously known, as the Eighth Oecumenical Council. Upon the death of Ignatius in 877, however, Photius was reinstated as patriarch and held office until 886, when he resigned once again, this time at the invitation of the emperor Leo VI. Of great significance for the history of the church, however, is the fact that the anti-Photian Synod of 869-70 was repudiated by the Constantinopolitan Synod of 879-80, which, and this is the most startling of Dvornik's findings, received the sanction and approval of Pope John VIII (880), who concurred with the fathers of this council in annulling and condemning the anti-Photian decrees of his predecessors (Pope Nicholas I, for example) and of the council of 869-70. Neither John VIII nor his immediate successors ever subsequently disowned or excommunicated Photius, and the whole account of their having done so belongs to the realm of fantasy (p. 236).

The fable of Photius' condemnation by Rome did not arise, Professor Dvornik demonstrates on the basis of a large number of unpublished Western canonistic texts, until the end of the eleventh century, when the canonists in the entourage of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) were attracted by the arguments against lay investiture that they found in the canons of the anti-Photian Synod of 869-70. They took this synod at its face value and eagerly proclaimed it as the Eighth Oecumenical Council, although Deusdedit and Ivo of Chartres had some hesitation about its authority and oecumenicity. But these doubts were so effectively brushed aside by Gratian in his famous *Concordantia discordantium canonum* (ca. 1150) that the memory of the papal chancellery's reversal in the matter of Photius and in the subsequent rehabilitation of Photius by Pope John VIII (in

880) was lost forever, having been suppressed by Gratian in accordance with his principle of reconciling contradictory canons. After an exhaustive study of the medieval tradition in East and West on canon law and the history of councils, Professor Dvornik concludes that the final form of the anti-Photian legend was the work of Baronius, who in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607) interprets the whole history of Photius in the light of the anti-Photian Council of 869–70, which he accepts as the Eighth Oecumenical Council. Baronius introduces the fiction that Photius had garbled the Acts of the Council of 879–80 and that he had been excommunicated for the second time by Pope John VIII.

The Greek Orthodox Church counts only seven oecumenical councils. But, despite a few dissenting voices, mostly from Protestant and Orthodox circles, Professor Dvornik, who is a Roman Catholic priest, is the first to show how and when the record of Photius, not fully understood in its entirety even by Orthodox historians, had been falsified in Latin circles. This he has done by a brilliant analysis of the sources, presented in a lively, dramatic form that cannot fail to interest all students of history. He has made a major contribution to medieval historiography and must be recognized as one of the most important medievalists of our day.

Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks

MILTON V. ANASTOS

A HISTORY OF ATTLA AND THE HUNS. By *E. A. Thompson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 228. \$4.50.)

THE present book is intended primarily for the student of Roman history. It presupposes readers who know their Gibbon, Bury, Seeck, and Stein, and understand enough Greek and Latin to translate for themselves the quotations from Priscus, Claudian, and even the horrible Sidonius. It is eminently readable. At Oxford, at least, they still count Clio among the nine Muses.

In the opening chapter the principal sources are discussed. Four chapters contain an account of the Huns' diplomatic relations with the Romans and of their victories and defeats in war. The remainder of the book is devoted to an attempt to explain the narrative. There is a bibliography and an adequate index.

The story of the Huns has been told before. Thompson tells it in considerably greater detail and with an insight into the character of the sources which none of his predecessors possessed. It may be argued whether Olympiodorus was such a truthful reporter as Thompson thinks. One may have one's doubts about the objectivity of Ammianus. But Thompson is certainly right in his evaluation of Priscus as a *littérateur* and partisan of the Senate. Thoroughly familiar with the Priscus fragments, Thompson succeeded in solving a number of the knotty chronological problems which have puzzled historians from Tillemont to the present day.

The wars in the east are somewhat summarily treated. The excerpts from the Church History of John of Ephesus in Pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmahre, the Chron-

icle of Edessa, the Story of Euphemia, Theodoret's Commentary of Ezekiel, the Liber chalipharum, the Memra of Qurillona on the locusts, the homilies of Asterius of Amasea, not to mention the Armenian historians, contain a wealth of material which Thompson did not use. The sermons of Maximus of Turin and Isaac of Antioch's Homily on the Royal City throw much light on Attila's last campaigns. Of sources for the ethnography of the Huns which Thompson overlooked I mention only Ambrosius' De Tobia and Vegetius' Mulomedicina. There are more.

In dealing with the names of the Huns Thompson was not very fortunate. He speaks, for example, of Uldis. It is well known that Greek authors used to treat foreign names ending in *-in* as if they were in the accusative (Arslan became Asilas, Sulaiman Solymas, etc.). Orosius has the name in the nominative: it is Uldin. The question "how a philologist can expect to derive such a name as *Octar*, which is also given as *Uptar*," is easily answered. The transition of *ct* into *pt* is characteristic for Balkan Latin, cf. Accila in the additions to Prosper and Optila in Marcellinus. Instead of *Tunsures* read *Tunsares* (see M. Krashennikov, *Viz. Obozrenie* I, 41-45). Thompson maintains that there is no evidence that any Hun ever bore a Germanic name. But Laudaricus was *cognatus Attilae* (Chronicle of 511).

In the second part of the book, the author deals with Hun society. According to him, the Huns of the latter half of the fourth century belonged to the lower stage of pastoralism. They lived in conditions of "desperate hardship," moving incessantly from pasture to pasture, utterly absorbed by the day-long task of looking after the herds. "Like some nomads of the Asiatic steppe at the present day, they could not weave because they had no time for it" (p. 42). Even after eighty years of contact with the Romans, the "productive power" of the Huns was so small that they could not make tables, chairs, and couches (p. 171). The iron swords they *must* have obtained by barter or capture. Nomads do not work metal. The Huns used horn and bone in the making of bows "because the steppe is treeless" (p. 172). To this unimaginably primitive economy corresponds an equally primitive social structure, a society without classes, without a hereditary nobility, amorphous small groups of marauders.

One need not have a first-hand knowledge of nomadic life in northern Eurasia to see that this is not a picture of Hun society but a caricature. Thompson's notion of the Huns is contradicted by all our literary evidence. It is, first of all, contradicted by the rich archaeological material we have. Since Alföldi wrote his fundamental study on the finds of the Hunnic period in Hungary, hundreds of objects of undoubtedly Hunnic origin have come to light, from the Danube to Kabardino-Balkaria. It is true that most of the publications on East European archaeology are in Russian. But this is no excuse for ignoring them. It would be strange if a Russian historian wrote a study on Roman society in Britain without even taking notice of the work of English archaeologists.

Not only the Huns but their subjects and allies too must be as primitive as possible. Thompson regards the Sciri as nomads. He does not state his reasons. But he mistranslates his sources. He quotes Sozomen IX, 5. "The ecclesiastical historian saw numbers of them i.e. Sciri scattered over the foothills and spurs of Mount Olympus in Bithynia, presumably acting as shepherds on Imperial estates" (p. 199). The passage runs as follows: σποράδην οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι λόφους καὶ ὑπωρείας γεωργοῦντας.

The chapter on Roman foreign policy and the Huns is infinitely better than that on Hun society. But here too the author cannot resist his urge to fit the facts into a preconceived pattern. One example must suffice. In 448 the physician Eudoxius, a leader of the Bagaudae, fled to the Huns. One line in a chronicle, this is all we have. From it Thompson deduces that "along the banks of the Loire many eyes were turned in hope towards the east." This is not enough. "The Huns were regarded in 448 as saviours by the lower classes of the Western Empire" (p. 56). There is, of course, not a shred of evidence for such a sweeping statement.

There are parts in the book which exasperate the reader. There are others which are excellent. It is brilliant and provocative, often utterly wrong, and yet it is by far the most stimulating book ever written on Attila and the Huns.

University of California

OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY PRESENTED TO FREDERICK MAURICE POWICKE. Edited by *R. W. Hunt*, *W. A. Pantin*, and *R. W. Southern*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 504. \$7.50.)

COLLECTIONS of historical essays are usually disappointing. They rarely do full credit either to their authors or to the scholars to whom they are presented. Sir Maurice Powicke is in my opinion the greatest living medieval historian. He has written at least three books and many articles that are of the highest quality and one book, *Stephen Langton*, that bears distinctly the imprint of genius. The authors of the essays include such distinguished historians as A. L. Poole, C. R. Cheney, J. E. A. Jolliffe, V. H. Galbraith, J. G. Edwards, B. Wilkinson, and E. F. Jacob, to name only those with whose work I am familiar. All these men have made important contributions to our knowledge of medieval England. Yet only one of these essays and that the first one in the book seems to me to deserve the adjective "important."

One of the most interesting and yet most obscure features of the history of western Europe in the eleventh century is the process of colonization, the clearing and settling of forests and the reclamation of wasteland. I have long suspected that normally this colonization followed seignorial lines—that a lord colonized his waste with his own peasants. In "The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire" Mr. T. A. M. Bishop shows conclusively that the reclamation of Yorkshire was accomplished in this way. Mr. Bishop has carried out a fruitful idea with great skill.

While Mr. Bishop's study seems to me to be the only one of major importance, there are others that are quite valuable. Although the material used by Mr. Jolliffe in his "The Chamber and the Castle Treasures under King John" is well known to students of the period, he has brought it together and made useful suggestions as to its significance. Naomi D. Hurnard has made a thorough and careful study of the actual use made of the writ *praecipe* just before and just after the issuing of Magna Carta. I suspect that she has said the last word on clause 34 of the great charter. Professor Cheney in his "The Alleged Deposition of King John" has shown that a number of modern historians of whom I am one have followed Roger of Wendover too casually. While I am unable to accept all Mr. Cheney's conclusions, there is no doubt that this essay will revise the standard accounts of the last phases of John's quarrel with Innocent III.

Space will not permit even casual reference to all the thirty-four essays in this book. While I do not believe that many of them are of great significance, most of them are both interesting and illuminating. Professor Galbraith's "The Death of a Champion" is a gem of its kind. As all the essays are definitely "scholarly," I doubt that this book will have any appeal for the general reader of history, but the historian of medieval England can read it through with much profit and considerable pleasure.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

THE ENGLISH SECULAR CATHEDRALS IN THE MIDDLE AGES: A CONSTITUTIONAL STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Kathleen Edwards*, Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Aberdeen. [Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCCI, Historical Series No. LXXXII.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 415. 25s.)

THIS is a book of the first value and interest. Even if all that could be said of it was that it was "little more than a mass of useful facts," as Miss Edwards remarks concerning the *Cathedralia* (1865) of Mackenzie Walcott, that indefatigable pioneer in a field similar to her own, for that in itself her readers would have reason for gratitude. She gives them a work of reference brought up to date, in the light of facts accumulated from the larger bulk of original material now available, the recent publications, sometimes much scattered, of leading authorities, and the results of her own researches. But much more can be said in praise. The facts are brought into relation with their background, ecclesiastical and other; lucidly expressed conclusions are drawn from the evidence; and the whole is presented in a way that may lead the reader to forget that the author must have spent both skill and toil in preparing for him a repast so pleasant to assimilate.

Miss Edwards' theme is the constitutional history of those nine cathedrals in medieval England which were served not by monastic bodies but by seculars—

those known since the Reformation as of the Old Foundation. Her central viewpoint is the fourteenth century, when the numbers of clergy attached were at their highest, a growing similarity of constitutional outline was beginning to appear, and codification and legislation were active and well recorded. "This is enough of the chapter's customs to remember at present," wrote a scribe in the mid-thirteenth century for the benefit of a canon about to be installed and take his oath. There was plenty to find out later. In four main sections the author treats first the canons, their emoluments, and the development of practice as to residence and nonresidence; next, the delicate question of the position, authority, and jurisdiction of a bishop in his cathedral church; thirdly, the chief officials and their duties, with interesting matter as to music, song, learning, teaching, administration, and finance; and lastly all the other "lesser ministers," of varied status, needed for smooth working—vicars choral and minor canons, chantry chaplains, choristers, and others.

Some time-honored misconceptions receive their quietus, others are modified. English secular cathedrals, it is proved, did not seek their model in a single cathedral in Normandy. It took time, money, and experience to work out any uniform system. Again, the "vice" of nonresidence has been too sweepingly denounced, and more advantage came from the forcing upon chapters of nominees of pope or king than has always been recognized. Nor must the stimulus to the creation of vicars choral be sought merely in laziness on the part of those they represented. In readjustments such as these, both specialists and the general reader will find much to ponder and to enjoy.

Chichester, Sussex, England

HILDA JOHNSTONE

Modern European History

LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *R. Doucet*, Professeur Honoraire à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, Recteur de l'Académie de Besançon. Tome I, LES CADRES GÉOGRAPHIQUES, LES INSTITUTIONS CENTRALES ET LOCALES. Tome II, LA SEIGNEURIE, LES SERVICES PUBLICS, LES INSTITUTIONS ECCLÉSIASTIQUES. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1948. Pp. 450; 453-971. 1,800 fr.)

THE reader of these two volumes will sense, behind multitudinous details, two of the weightiest concerns of pre-Revolutionary France: the disintegration of controls over the royal executive and the darkly looming shadow of national bankruptcy. That concentration of power was necessitated by proximity to the Habsburgs is but a partial defense, for Charles found himself in dire straits, and the real enemy of Europe was probably the Turk. As M. Doucet puts it, the monarchy revealed itself incapable of organizing a financial system adequate to maintain its political and military objectives.

The author's modest introduction proposes merely to assemble the findings of earlier writers and to advise researchers of fields insufficiently explored. He has given us a wealth of information not easily obtained elsewhere, though we have the works of Paul Viollet and of J. C. Bridge, each slightly different in scope.

In this mosaic of French governmental practice is the familiar story of the breakdown of feudal economy and medieval concepts of landholding, with concomitant duties and privileges, in the face of European conditions demanding a flexible medium of exchange. According to this author, monetary depreciation had been in process within France for several centuries before the flood of specie from America, thus effecting gradually the social change in favor of the trading classes.

Piecemeal expansion to west, east, and north, had created a kingdom in which the various provinces were administered in dissimilar fashion. Between different areas the king was the link, his rule based upon a series of contracts stating reciprocal obligations. In overthrowing these customs, he was assisted by the dawning concept of public interest. Occasionally he appeared to relinquish certain capacities to groups of experts. For example, the royal council developed offshoots, specializing in law or finance—the analogies with England are obvious—but the French king remained always their superior, reassuming the power he had delegated. Nuclei of independent action or of concerted opposition—Estates-General, parlement, feudality, or church—eventually were engulfed in the wake of his all-enveloping authority. It may seem a strange turn of fate which brought the papacy to side with the crown *against* the liberties of the Gallican church, but, when one considers the personalities of Leo X and of Francis I, their concordat becomes understandable. Even the alliance of Huguenots, nobles, and *politiques* gave way at last to the dominance of Henry IV.

On the administrative side, there is greater variation from the Renaissance pattern. Due partly to ill-defined local units but chiefly to financial pressures, France was burdened with a superabundance of functionaries. In the previous century Louis XI had developed the system of selling offices. Not content with this revenue, Francis I created additional positions for the sole purpose of sale. Property in office involved the right to bequeath, or resell, and the newly rich bourgeoisie were eager to invest. Hence the "*nuée de parasites*" cluttering the administration. Despite complaints, from Estates-General, courts, and publicists, that this practice violated reason and morality, and dangerously increased salary budgets, the monarch preferred temporary financial gain to a streamlined government.

To this theme the financial history runs a parallel course. Neither ruler nor bureaucrats would curtail expenditure, and accounting showed critical flaws. Estimates of revenue and expense were inaccurate. The needs of the household and of the military establishment, unforeseen but imperative, involved anticipation of taxes. Budgets therefore included some revenue of the following year, while delayed payments for the previous period appeared among expenses. For such deep-seated abuses, no reformer offered permanent cure.

M. Doucet has achieved that unusual combination, a very readable book of reference. In discussing administration and finance, he might have given more emphasis to the considerable influence acquired by bankers through venality of office and constant borrowings of the treasury. The French kings were heavily indebted to the financiers of Lyons, many of whom were Italians. The German Welsers also lent them money—at sixteen per cent.

Particular commendation should be given for the excellent bibliographies closing each chapter. These contain references to primary and secondary sources in print, and even the location of manuscript material.

New London, Connecticut

BEATRICE REYNOLDS

LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *Gaston Zeller*, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1948. Pp. xii, 404.)

"PERHAPS at no point in history," states the historian Georges Pagès, "were the kings of France as powerful as Francis I and Henry II." With this opinion the author of the work in review finds it impossible to concur. Royal authority, Zeller contends, appeared under Louis XIV more fully developed and confident than under any of his predecessors. "It is precisely one of the characteristics of our sixteenth century," he writes, "that representative institutions were on the verge of their decline." The parlements and the Estates-General, Zeller points out, played a moderating role in sixteenth century politics, raising powerful voices in defiance of crown and ministers to such an extent that Francis I indignantly exclaimed that were the opinions of the parlement of Paris to prevail France would be turned from a monarchy into an aristocracy. Henry III complained to a deputation from the Estates-General that by complying with their requests regarding taxation he was rendering his kingdom semidemocratic.

These statements, it is only fair to indicate, appear at the conclusion of the work after a thoroughly objective, carefully detailed description of the various institutions of sixteenth century France has revealed a pattern of its own. It is a tribute to the author's impartial scholarship that throughout the main body of the text there are no capricious hypotheses dragging reluctant facts along in their wake. Nevertheless, after his extensive, detached account draws to a close Zeller commits himself to something resembling a theme. It is interesting to examine the validity of this theme in the light of the author's own evidence and, at the same time, to inquire if he may not have unwittingly presented material which lends support to the opinion of Pagès.

At first glance the verdict seems to be in favor of Zeller. Through his descriptions of the *seigneuries*, the municipalities, the religious orders, the provincial estates and the parlements, the author indicates the obstacles to royal power presented by particularist survivals of a feudal age. He shows the persistency with

which sixteenth century monarchs labored to build a centralized system of administration and police through the instrumentality of the *prévôts* and *baillis*, and through the extension of the powers of other officers of the crown. Royal efforts to gain effective control over financial, judicial, and military affairs, toward the establishment of a postal system and toward the introduction of uniform standards in weights, measures, coinage, and customs are carefully described. Despite momentary setbacks, the progress of royal authority at the expense of antiquated privilege moved relentlessly forward. The century terminated with the accession of Henry IV, a monarch who demonstrated little concern for representative institutions and exercised his power without interference from those meddling bodies which had apparently irritated Francis I. So much had been accomplished in the construction of the absolutist state, remarks Zeller, "that there remained little of importance for the seventeenth century to do."

If, however, we turn to the other side of the ledger, a picture is presented which gives substance to the point of view of Pagès. While the Valois kings destroyed piecemeal the last bulwarks of feudal privilege with one hand, Zeller shows them creating new obstacles to the unrestricted exercise of monarchical power with the other. The new menace to the royal prerogative had as its source the policy of fiscalism. The insatiable monetary demands of successive sixteenth century kings led them to fritter away powers as rapidly as they acquired them. The temptation to alienate domain at a price was irresistible. Offices were placed upon the open market and auctioned to the highest bidder. Frequently such offices possessed only nuisance value, having been created for the specific purpose of forcing local communities to buy them in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of unscrupulous speculators. Zeller cites, among others, the case of Dauphiné in which the office of *contrôleur des deniers communs*, created in 1524, was immediately purchased by the local estates, re-established and repurchased a second time in 1527, revived again in 1542, and once more repurchased by the estates in 1544. The same dismal tale is told of the relations between the crown and the guilds, the imposition of troublesome restrictions upon techniques of production and exchange in order to force craftsmen and merchants to purchase immunity from the annoying regulations. Fiscalism, however, prevented the crown from abolishing the notorious *épices* of the royal judges because to have done so would have been to deprive the magistrates of income which could never have been made up from the royal treasury. Tax-farming was tolerated for similar reasons. Financially the crown was at the mercy of the farmers and even as enlightened a monarch as Henry IV was eventually forced to yield to such unsavory practices because alternatives threatened to lead the state to bankruptcy. Not only did fiscalism weaken the royal power by creating proprietary officeholding, but the enactment of countless regulations and counterregulations entangled the machinery of state in such a network of administrative confusion that by the end of the seventeenth century the *de jure* absolutism of Louis XIV, in many respects,

proved to be a *de facto* farce. Pagès might be close to the truth in suggesting that the zenith of the power of the French monarchy may have been reached during the reigns of Francis I and Henry II.

It is unnecessary to champion one point of view against the other. Actually the problem is concerned with the semantics of absolutism. The two scholars emphasize different aspects of the situation and the validity of either position can effectively be maintained.

In tracing the growth of the French monarchy in the sixteenth century, it is interesting to note that Zeller pays scant attention to those dramatic social movements customarily referred to as the Renaissance and the Wars of Religion. His study explores the substrata of society and the institutions of France evolve there ineluctably, impervious to the storms on the surface.

The bibliographies at the conclusion of each chapter provide excellent guides to the major works devoted to special aspects of French constitutional history under the Old Regime which have appeared during the last half century. The thoroughness of Zeller's survey makes his book a valuable reference for any student of sixteenth century France.

University of Nevada

OWEN ULPH

DIE FRANZÖSISCHE REVOLUTION. I, DIE ZERTRÜMMERUNG DES KÖNIGTUMS. By *Octave Aubry*. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1948? Pp. 616.)

THE late Octave Aubry (1881-1946) was a well-known French writer. Beginning his career by acquiring doctorates, in *both* law and letters, at the University of Paris, he subsequently turned to the writing of novels. His talent for imaginative prose, coupled with broad learning in history, enabled him also to produce many charming studies of historical figures and epochs. For the most part his interests lay in the Napoleonic era. Mme. Walewska, Josephine, Napoleon I, the Prince of Rome, Marie Louise, and the St. Helena episode all received his sprightly attention; as did the Napoleonic epilogue—Eugénie, Napoleon III, and the Second Empire. The present study of the French Revolution appears to have been his final work.

Die Französische Revolution appeared originally in French, and, according to a notice in the first volume of the French edition, it seems to have been planned in four volumes for Flammarion's "Collection de l'Histoire" series. The volumes were to bear the titles: I, *Destruction de la Royauté*; II, *La République*; III, *L'Empire national*; IV, *Grandeur et chute de Napoléon*. Volumes I and II were published at Paris, under the titles indicated, in 1942 and 1945 respectively. The fate of Volumes III and IV is unknown to the present reviewer. If they were not completed at the time of the author's death, at least his other studies of the Napoleonic era should suffice to preserve his impressions of that period. Obviously the work

under consideration here is the German equivalent of Volume I, the back of the title page of which bears the inscription, "*Autorisierte Übertragung aus dem Französischen von Hans Kauders.*" Incidentally, the publisher's announcement accompanying the book indicates that Volume II was to appear in German later in the same year.

The book traces (in five "books" and thirty-two chapters) the development of the French Revolution from the opening of the Estates-General to the fall of the Girondins. Some parts of the work consist of detailed accounts of events; others comprise a liberal, though not always judicious, use of extensive source excerpts, especially from debates. But throughout it seems concerned more with the romance than with the ideas or essential substance of history. It is the work of the novelist turned writer of history—regrettably one cannot honestly use the word "historian" here, though, from the point of view of exposition, most historians could learn from M. Aubry. In the last analysis, it tends to be what has come to be expected of M. Aubry—brilliant, impressionistic, colorful—as the publisher's notice on the dust jacket eloquently suggests. To the professional historian it will doubtless contribute little that is new in either information or interpretation. On the other hand, it is probable that it will be read and enjoyed by the German-reading laity—the very audience for whom the professional historian should write but seldom does. (The latest announcement which this reviewer has seen of a new *French* work on the period of the French Revolution indicates that it is to be written by an economic historian with a penchant for statistics and a reputation for dull prose!)

Neither French nor German edition (at least of Volume I) contains bibliography, index, maps, or illustrations, though it is probable that at least one of these features may have been intended for the final volume. Footnotes appear frequently, though not always where they would be most useful, and often their content is inadequate. Unlike the French edition, which is paper-bound and printed on cheap stock, this Swiss-German version is stoutly bound in cloth (although also available in paper) and is printed on substantial paper. A modern type face rather than the traditional German one is used throughout, a custom which has been gaining favor for some years. The French edition contains no preface, but the German one does—a couple of pages with the suggestive postscript "*Geschrieben 1942 während der deutschen Besetzung.*" If the translation is as effective as it appears (to one who makes no pretense of reading German with either ease or pleasure), Herr Kauders merits commendation for one of the most difficult and laborious of historical and literary tasks.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION IN 1789: A STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION AS REVEALED IN POLITICAL SONGS AND OTHER POPULAR LITERATURE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLU-

TION. By *Cornwell B. Rogers*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 363. \$5.00.)

THE title and jacket of this volume may appeal to the general public, but the historian is concerned with the scholarly study indicated in the subtitle. To previous monographs on the Revolutionary newspapers, the cahiers, pamphlets, and art, Rogers has now added a study of popular songs as a way "to understand the reactions of the masses to events, or to appreciate the influence of public opinion on the course of the Revolution" (p. 4).

Although this volume is based upon a careful chronological study of ninety songs appearing in 1789, the author is well versed in the history of the Revolution as a whole and provides a synthesis that goes beyond the purport of his particular study. The reviewer would have preferred that the author limit himself to the interpretation of the song material, since the general chapters that may appeal to those attracted by the dramatic jacket repeat or confirm various theses about the Revolution drawn from standard historians. Rogers refutes a thesis of liberals that the Terror was a denial of the principles of 1789, and subscribes, almost unwittingly, to the thesis of Lefebvre in *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf* that 1789 typified the manifold activity and ideas which manifested themselves throughout the Revolutionary era.

Rogers' approach is psychological rather than statistical. His subscription to C. J. Jung's theory of opposites and to Freudian psychoanalysis makes this analysis original, if controversial. During the elections of 1789 and early days of the National Assembly, Rogers found expressions of the father complex in popular songs, with Necker and Lafayette (to a lesser degree) sharing this position with Louis XVI. However, recognition of the king as the father of his people was not unique in the Revolutionary populace, but was as old as the monarchy. While songs were common in the early days of 1789, Rogers discovered an interesting lack of songs about the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the August decrees—a lack that merited further investigation and explanation. On the capture of the Bastille, the October Days, and the anticlerical legislation of the months of 1789, he again found numerous songs. Well-chosen excerpts and a thorough bibliography supplement the text.

In his final chapter, Rogers summarizes Revolutionary paradoxes, and concludes, with Aulard and Mathiez, that "the spirit of 1789 was thus essentially a religious spirit. To a considerable extent it was made up of inherently conflicting elements, which were reconciled, to appearances at least, and given form in the cults of later years." He found "a profound confusion in the Revolutionary mood" (p. 241). In his analysis of the emotional factors in the Revolution, Rogers' study is a challenging contribution to the psychology of "revolution."

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

NAPOLEON: FOR AND AGAINST. By *Pieter Geyl*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Utrecht. Translated from the Dutch by *Olive Renier*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. 477. \$5.00.)

IN this tersely written volume, the eminent Dutch historian Pieter Geyl has digested and analyzed the writings of the more important French historians who have dealt with Napoleon. Simply as a job of compilation it is a remarkable achievement. Beyond that, however, Professor Geyl has made an original contribution of his own in tracing the connection between the attitude of these historians toward Napoleon and the political tendencies of their own time, in summarizing the present state of knowledge on each of the major controversies, and in adding to the argument his personal conclusions.

Professor Geyl has no trouble in grouping his historians under the rubrics "for" and "against." Virtually all—with the notable exception of Gabriel Hanotaux—fall clearly into one or the other category. And the relative predominance of "for" or "against" follows neatly and comprehensibly the major changes in French political institutions. Thus, at the start, we have Madame de Staël setting the high-minded, ethical tone that is to persist among the opposition down to the present. Next come the original admirers—Baron Bignon, Armand Lefebvre, Thiers—writing under the influence of the Napoleonic legend and reacting against the mediocrity of the July Monarchy. With the shocks and disappointments of the Second Empire, the opposition quite naturally reappears (Quinet, Lanfrey, Taine), to be followed under the Third Republic (again a modest, unexciting regime) by the revival of pro-Napoleonic writing in the large works of Houssaye, Masson, Vandal, and Albert Sorel. Finally we have the contemporary antithesis between the members of the Academy—Bainville and Madelin—who have followed the tradition of Vandal and Sorel, and the *Universitaires*—Aulard, Pariset, and, most notably, Georges Lefebvre—who in reviving the "against" tradition have brought the argument to its highest point of professional competence.

As he proceeds in his analysis, Professor Geyl leads the reader skillfully along with him by recapitulating each major event or controversy in connection with the historian who either first introduced it into the argument or later summarized it most fairly and completely. Thus, in his sections on Sorel and Driault (the longest in the book), Professor Geyl takes up the whole question of Napoleon's foreign policy, refuting Sorel by exposing his omissions and his subordination of his data to a single thesis, and casting doubt on the validity of Driault's work by tracing his gradual evolution from a position of moderately "against" to one of enthusiastically "for."

At this point, Professor Geyl's own attitude most clearly enters the discussion. Without hesitation, he places himself in the "against" category. And this is the only important respect in which his book lays itself open to criticism. We might mention in passing that his concentration on French historians necessarily results in a slighting of certain aspects of the controversy. The biographers, for example,

as opposed to more specialized historians, have frequently been non-French: we may think of Fournier, Rose, Kirchheim. More important, Professor Geyl hardly mentions the question of economic policy: here again the major contributions have been made by non-French writers—Heckscher, Melvin, Tarle (although Georges Lefebvre, in his admirable volume in the “Peuples et civilisations” series, has recapitulated their conclusions).

The question of Professor Geyl’s “against” attitude is more serious. It leads him into some injustice toward the writings of the two French historians who, in the opinion of this reviewer, have written the most impressive general works on Napoleon—Sorel and Georges Lefebvre. The former he condemns for his “respect for fact and for power.” In the latter’s work, while recognizing that it has most completely “assimilated the discussion as it has proceeded so far,” Professor Geyl regrets the absence of moral content. “I should like to see the eternal postulates of respect for the human personality, of the feeling for spiritual freedom, of lofty idealism, of truthfulness, taken into account when the final reckoning is made.” Must we agree here? Is it not possible to maintain that a “respect for fact and for power”—particularly when it is tempered by Sorel’s urbane skepticism—is as respectable a position for the historian as an attitude of ethical condemnation? Must we be explicitly “for” or “against”? May we not try simply to call things by their names—“despotism,” for example—without declaring them to be either good or bad?

Yet despite the fact that Professor Geyl reveals himself—with the greatest honesty—as a Netherlander and a liberal democrat who dislikes despotism in all its forms, his critique is nearly always impartial and to the point. After demolishing all monistic explanations of Napoleon’s career, he concludes on a basis of a happy pluralism and a neat balancing of rival theories. “I find it pleasing,” he writes, “to observe how diverse opinions and heterogeneous temperaments may assist in disclosing truth.” His is a historian’s book for historians. While it may prove too complex for the general reading public, it deserves to take its place as the best single volume on Napoleon in the English language.

Harvard University

H. STUART HUGHES

THE EMPIRE AND THE GLORY: NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, 1800–1806.

By *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1949. Pp. xvi, 535. \$3.75.)

THE author’s dedication of this volume to the man who “taught me how to think” is an excellent indication of the quality of the work. The author has also learned how to write. A quarter century as newspaper reporter and as freelance writer has taught him how to make himself intelligible to a twentieth century public. Contemporary issues, especially military and naval, have been his chief concern. Residence and study in France have fitted him to handle his present subject with a sure touch.

Mr. Pratt is not a historian trained in the techniques of scholarship, and his book is destitute of the customary evidences thereof, except for an index and some appropriate sketch maps. Yet one must not be deceived, for he handles historical materials as an adept and as an artist. Two characteristics of his method are significant. His pen portraits, which never conceal the seamy side, are an outstanding feature. He does not discount the importance of men in the mass but he is strongly impressed that some men as individuals, whether because of peculiar ability or position, wield extraordinary influence. In military campaigns he always remembers the common soldiers, the weather, the roads, the food, the equipment, but he never forgets that plans and decisions are the function of the officers at the top. In the second place he handles events, notably military campaigns, from the point of view of the hour of occurrence. Each party is made to appear as acting on the basis of his information and insights at the moment. This is an important contribution to intelligibility and saves the author from always appearing to inject his personal views into his narrative.

The conspicuous, fullest, and best features of the volume are the accounts of the three campaigns of 1800 (Marengo), 1805 (Austerlitz), and 1806 (Jena). The climactic victories appear properly as just the final days of weeks of campaigning. Yet the author does not revere the great military genius so much as he does the extraordinary combination of intellectual power and moral energy that welded the people divided by the Revolution into a unified nation with an efficient government based on uniformity of law. The maker of the Codes, the Concordat, and the administrative system achieved something more and something more enduring than did the victor of Marengo and Austerlitz. In council as in campaign Napoleon got things done—not perfectly but well.

Consciously or unconsciously the author has taken lessons from the cinema in handling his materials. Not judicial balance but sustained interest govern his allotment of space. A brief chapter suffices for both the Concordat and the Codes. So too for the amazing tangle of European politics and diplomacy between Austerlitz and Jena. Yet the essentials are there, and clear. The tawdry affairs of the Bonaparte family had their importance and demanded an ungodly amount of the Corsican's time. Needless, often undesirable, tomes have been lavished on the subject. Happily Mr. Pratt reduces the gist of the matter to occasional paragraphs. Close-ups suffice for Josephine, Pauline, and Hortense. Madame de Staël receives more attention: she had ideas. Ouvrard, the banker-speculator, gets unusual space—his performances have present-day allure. The Enghien affair, on the contrary, is extremely condensed.

The monarchs and their advisers at Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg are skillfully depicted. The account of the Prussian war council before Jena is a gem. Archduke Charles seems to be accorded less than his due. William Pitt and Charles James Fox are unaccountably slighted, but fortunately Godoy fares worse. On the French side Moreau is treated handsomely, Fouché with perspicacity, but Talleyrand with less than customary consideration.

This is a clever book, based on extensive study, skillfully written, full of telling epigrams, charged with brilliant insights, somewhat scornful of scholarly technique. It repays reading.

Wesleyan University

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER

BEAUMARCHAIS. By *Georges Lemaitre*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. viii, 362, xi. \$4.00.)

THE author of this readable biography of Beaumarchais does not state his intent. Possibly it was to present the life of its central figure to the English-reading public in palatable form. In so doing, M. Lemaitre is to be complimented on his mastery of English, which is not his first tongue. The biography is not to be compared in scope to the Lafayette of Louis Gottschalk or the Metternich of Heinrich von Srbik. It is limited to Beaumarchais' activities at home, at court, or with his business and literary associates. *Beaumarchais* was probably written for that audience between the trade and the scholar. It is an important audience, and the author and publisher are to be commended for their attempt to present good history without benefit of footnotes and other scholarly accouterment.

Beaumarchais is not an easy subject. His versatile operations—as a spy, police agent, author, diplomat, and financier of the American Revolution—make him a large and complicated figure. Living from the end of the Old Regime through the American and French Revolutionary epochs (1732–1799), he passed from the status of watchmaker to courtier. He is best remembered for his *Barber of Seville* and *Marriage of Figaro*. Beaumarchais, under the touch of M. Lemaitre, comes to life as a warm, generous person who prospered as a result of his intelligence and wit in spite of his *petit bourgeois* background. M. Lemaitre's pen, which sometimes writes Gallic sentences with English ink and therefore has a charm and imposes a minor problem all its own, portrays an overconfident Beaumarchais. But his aggressiveness, the author thinks, is a façade adopted by Beaumarchais to counterbalance a feeling of unworthiness and immaturity resulting from an early conflict with his father. This defeat suffered by the adolescent Beaumarchais seemed forgotten until, in middle age, he was confined by the king in Saint-Lazare, a prison for juvenile delinquents. For a short time he was the laughingstock of Paris. This affront to his dignity sobered him for the rest of his life. He is, however, too complicated a personality to be explained by one complex, and M. Lemaitre does not unduly press the point.

The careful lay reader may be bothered by unidentified names such as Condorcet. If the reader is stimulated to consult the article on Condorcet in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, M. Lemaitre's book becomes a useful pedagogical instrument. If the same reader will pull out the "B's" and read the article on Beaumarchais, he will perhaps conclude that the author did not have to seek far for his pertinent facts. This is not to deny credit to M. Lemaitre's presentation. Again

the careful reader (he might have to be a scholar) might question the remark: "The Committee of Public Safety was now [1794] composed exclusively of Robespierre's friends, and the Committee of General Security made short work of his enemies" (p. 327). He might also wonder why one of the members of that Committee of Public Safety, Robert Lindet, in 1796 recommended that the émigré Beaumarchais be allowed to return to France.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

TALLEYRAND [in Russian]. By *E. V. Tarle*. (Moscow and Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. 1948. Pp. 303.)

THIS volume is an expanded and rewritten version of Tarle's earlier book on Talleyrand. It is directed against the alleged tendency of Western historians to "prostrate themselves blindly before Talleyrand and his exalted political 'wisdom'" or, at least, to acknowledge his "genius" and to let him off with mild and at times sympathetic general valuations. In Tarle's opinion, Western diplomacy still avows that Talleyrand was an example worthy of emulation and that Western historical science continues to spread the cult of the ex-bishop of Autun. There are in this volume a number of critical remarks on Anne Bowman Dodd's *Talleyrand*.

The author proposes to analyze accurately Talleyrand's "motive psychic forces" and to examine the basis of his success. His main thesis is that Talleyrand was a diplomat of the rising bourgeois class in the early period of its power, at the time of the victorious advance of capitalism and the destruction of the feudal-aristocratic order. He was the first to understand how to modify the old diplomatic practices in order to adjust them to the new conditions. In Tarle's view, Talleyrand never betrayed the bourgeoisie because he was convinced that its victory was decisive and irreversible. He was lacking in creative ability and was stimulated entirely by desire for personal gain. Talleyrand's object, in his own words, was "first of all, never to be poor." The utter disloyalty to all he served, his shameless venality, the sales of official documents to the enemies of France, all these are mercilessly exposed.

The main reason for Talleyrand's successes, asserts Tarle, lies in the fact that he served the bourgeois class during the period of its rapid advancement. In examining the failure of French diplomacy in the thirties of this century, Tarle says: "Now it [French bourgeoisie] is a class which no longer thinks of struggling against the foreign bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it often aspires to form an alliance with it [foreign bourgeoisie], in order to fall upon the common enemy, the proletariat. . . . The difference lies in the entirely dissimilar tasks set by the powerful, young, predatory, greedy bourgeoisie for its servants in the early nineteenth century and those that the decrepit . . . French bourgeoisie sets for them now."

After offering these consistently Marxist-Leninist propositions, Tarle, having done what is considered the right thing in Soviet Russia, proceeds to write a brilliant and well-informed popular life of Talleyrand in a clear, readable prose.

The author has an excellent knowledge of the sources. There are, however, one or two surprising errors, *e.g.*, he describes Labrador, the Spanish representative at the Congress of Vienna, as "one of the French delegates" (p. 186).

In short, this book is an interesting, if one-sided, story of Talleyrand's life.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

THE FATEFUL YEARS: MEMOIRS OF A FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN BERLIN, 1931-1938. By *André François-Poncet*. Translated from the French by *Jacques LeClercq*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 295. \$4.00.)

THESE memoirs of M. François-Poncet's mission in Berlin from 1931 to 1938 throw still further light on the diplomacy of those fateful years, now being illuminated by the appearance of the personal accounts of others of the participants and by the publication of the documents of the German foreign ministry.

Although its first publication in this country is in 1949, M. François-Poncet states that his book was written before the Nuremberg war crimes trials and that it has not been altered in the light of testimony produced there. The memoirs are based, the author states, on the voluminous diplomatic correspondence which he addressed to Paris from September, 1931, to October, 1938. Only a few direct quotations from this material are given, however.

The author makes it clear that such advice as he gave the Quai d'Orsay in his dispatches was never asked for, that his function as an ambassador was that of a purveyor of information and a letter carrier. He had no hand in drawing up the notes which he presented at the Wilhelmstrasse, and only once in his nine years as ambassador at Berlin and Rome was he summoned to Paris to consult with the minister and French envoys at other European capitals.

Especially interesting and valuable are M. François-Poncet's brief but well-drawn sketches of the main actors of the period of his mission, particularly those of Chancellor Brüning, Neurath, Goering, Goebbels, Schacht, Ribbentrop, and his extended portrait of Hitler, which concludes the book.

The author's account of his relations with his colleagues of the diplomatic corps in Berlin is of much interest, and his book invites comparison with the works of two of those colleagues, the American ambassador Dodd's *Diary*, and Sir Nevile Henderson's *Failure of a Mission*. François-Poncet considered Dodd "scarcely equipped for a career which sometimes requires the diplomat to hide his thoughts and feelings," yet "a singularly honorable exemplar of that American idealism which managed to remain so fervent despite the rising tide of realism," and a man whose reactions it would have paid the Nazis to study more carefully.

The author tells of his first meeting with Sir Neville Henderson, who had been assigned to Berlin to represent a more pacificatory policy toward Hitler. François-Poncet told him, "It is not I who will oppose you! So much the better if you succeed! But you will learn from experience!"

He refers with some bitterness to the action of the Polish minister Josef Lipski in discussing Polish-German relations with him at dinner on January 25, 1934, and failing to reveal that the German-Polish Pact had already been concluded, as was reported in the newspapers on the following day.

The eyewitness account of the Munich conference is valuable, though François-Poncet insists that on that occasion he was only a go-between and an observer and was never consulted on major decisions. His evaluation of Munich is somewhat equivocal. He considers the agreement

a humane work, fraught with both advantages and disadvantages. It necessitated too many and too painful sacrifices for us to congratulate ourselves upon it; it brought too many advantages for us to recall only its grievous aspects. The passage of time should therefore permit one to be neither pro-Munich nor anti-Munich but, in this instance, to rise to the serenity of history.

There is an extended and dramatic account of his last interview with Hitler in the Eagle's Nest at Berchtesgaden on October 17, 1938.

The author's service at Berlin and Rome successively gives special interest to his discussion of the relationship of the two dictators.

Their friendship proved equally fatal to both. Without Mussolini, Hitler could never have carried out his plans for conquest and his ambition for hegemony. Without Hitler, Mussolini, contenting himself with making speeches, would never have yielded to his most dangerous temptations. Separately they might have lived; their union caused their destruction, and in the last analysis each died through the agency of the other.

As for Hitler himself, in François-Poncet's characteristically French point of view, his principal vice was excess, lack of proportion. To François-Poncet Hitler was a *Nimmersatt*, a man never sated, a man possessed, urged to extremes by a demon, swollen with pride; "it was pride that led him to commit the crime of *Ueberhebung*, the deadly sin of presumption and excess."

Washington, D. C.

JAMES S. BEDDIE

THE MIRACLE OF FRANCE. By *André Maurois*. Translated from the French by *Henry L. Binsse*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1948. Pp. x, 477. \$5.00.)

"Dat's always de trouble wid miracles," says the "Lawd" in Marc Connelly's *Green Pastures*. "When you pass one you always gotta r'ar back an' pass another." Apparently André Maurois has found that out. Having named one of his books *The Miracle of England* (1937), he felt obliged to call his story of this country's

development *The Miracle of America* (1944); and now comes *The Miracle of France*. Perhaps more *Miracles* are to be expected.

Exactly what "the miracle" of France may be is not made clear. Maurois' philosophy of history is eclectic—sometimes tending toward economic determinism, sometimes toward the "great-man" theory, sometimes toward the *cherchez-la-femme* school, and often toward ideological interpretation. In fact, except perhaps when he talks of great medieval figures like Charlemagne, Louis IX, and Joan of Arc, nothing so solemn and dramatic as a miracle appears in his pages. Instead, one gets the impression of a slow national progress, with its up and downs, explicable chiefly by a chain of historical developments that in themselves require (and often receive) careful explanation in prosaic historical terms. Maurois deserves some credit as a shrewd observer of human affairs and as an epigrammatist, but this volume at least does not reveal him as a profound philosopher. Its theme is no different from that of a dozen other histories of France by lesser men, who, like him, have admired the astonishing propensity of the French for getting into all kinds of difficulties and getting right out again—usually under the leadership of some exceptionally challenging personalities.

If this volume is distinguished in any way, it is by the capable fashion in which it unites learning and style—a fashion that Maurois himself, speaking of Tocqueville and Renan (p. 375), thinks characteristic of French historians. Maurois is no Rankean "Dryasdust." It would not be difficult to make a long table of factual errors and debatable interpretations in this book. The author seems to have acquired his data from a good, but by no means exhaustive, list of secondary authors (whom he cites, by the way, only by name, giving no title or page numbers) and from his apparently wide and intimate knowledge of French literature. His learning is impressive but does not inspire that confidence which a historian elicits when he devoutly subscribes to the creed that only the most carefully sifted and tested information shall be presented. Yet no one could possibly write a book of around 200,000 words on nearly 2,000 years of a great nation's history from the primary sources alone or without making mistakes. It is probably true of this book, as of H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*, that specialists will think it is reliable in all areas but their own specialties; and that is genuine praise.

Maurois' style is not so engaging as Strachey's or Madelin's or even Guedalla's and Brogan's. Yet he is capable of the *bon mot* and the *mot juste*; his quotations are pat and pointed; and he knows his characters well enough to make them live persons rather than mere names. Moreover, he considers men of letters, scientists, philosophers, and artists historical characters too, and one meets them often as one goes out to do battle or attend conferences with kings, generals, and statesmen. In addition, separate chapters are devoted to the cultural milieu; and for this reviewer they were among the best. In fact, the ones entitled "How France Thought and Felt between 1815 and 1848" (pp. 335-41) and "How Romanticism Was Superseded" (pp. 372-76) seem alone worth the price of the book.

University of Chicago

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

GUIDE DE L'ÉTUDIANT EN HISTOIRE MODERNE ET CONTEMPORAINE. By *Camille Bloch* and *Pierre Renouvin*. [Initiation aux études historiques.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. viii, 144. 200 fr.)

IN the role of modern and contemporary counterpart to Halphen's *Initiation aux études d'histoire du moyen âge*, this short guide is designed primarily to help the French undergraduate who seeks his *license ès lettres*, the French graduate student who is embarking upon his thesis, and the lay historian in his first research. To the extent that the book does contain bibliographical and methodological substance, it will have a certain restricted usefulness; to the extent that some beginner might construe it as a model of the historian's wisdom and art to be emulated, it will not.

For the young Frenchman who is about to begin his first serious work, who is interested in the recent (sixteenth century into the twentieth) history of his own country, and who reads no language but French, this guide will afford basic bibliographical and archival data. It will tell him a great deal about the historical materials of his country and will give him aid and comfort in his struggle with the complicated pattern of the great French bibliographical works. It will tell him things of large value about his country's archives and its learned societies. The foreign student of French history will likewise benefit.

But the omission of practically all foreign contributions to French historical bibliography and historiography (Kircheisen, Hyslop, Brinton, Gottschalk, Winacker, Hill, Farmer, for example) is in itself no favor to this limited audience which presumably could use the corpus of these works even if it could not read the introduction and critical comments. Moreover, the omission of great contributions to the substantive history of France just because they are written in a foreign language is to submerge in the beginner an incentive to study which should rather be heightened.

Its last forty pages will advise him on some of the phases of method: the different approaches to history, finding a suitable topic, bibliography, study of sources, and presentation of results. This section has much that is sound but little that is new; indeed some of its paragraphs would seem to parallel closely (and without acknowledgment) earlier formulations by authors—not all of whom were French.

On the other hand, for the young Frenchman who can read a foreign language and who is interested in the countries of the outside world with which France has had relations and with which her own future is closely bound, the book can be of small value. There are probably fewer than seventy-five American, British, and German authors listed by name, and many of these seem to be included only because their work has been put into French. The most recent Russian history (Platonov) ends in 1918; the latest book on Germany (Benaert's volume, *L'Unité allemande 1806-1938*) takes the story past 1933 to be sure, but is, in the authors' list, the only acceptable book to go beyond about 1900. The last

words on Britain are Prentout's single volume ending at 1919 and Halévy's *Epilogue*. There is no book specifically dedicated to Italy since the rise of Fascism. Morison and Commager's edition of 1937, and Muzzey and Channing in the French translations of 1921 and 1919 respectively, are the only three works on United States history written by Americans. Three other works by Frenchmen carry our story into the twenties and thirties.

In such fashion the *Guide* can only play to that sector of the French historical profession which is already too narrow in its outlook and needs no lessons in provincialism. Furthermore, and perhaps more seriously, it will play to that other sector which has exasperated both the great French scholars and outsiders by its methodical want of method. The *Guide* in itself could scarcely furnish a poorer example of technical achievement. Not only in the unfortunate unevenness of its bibliographical emphases, its glaring omissions of masterworks, its occasional misvaluations of works which it cites, but also in the carelessness with which the data are assembled it is a dolorous model. There is no consistency in the styling of bibliographical references; there are misspellings in names and titles; and there are mistakes in dates and places of publication. A high water mark of scholarly insouciance would seem to this reviewer the repeated citation of material in an early edition of Halphen's *Initiation* (the lead volume in this very series of guides) when the revised and augmented edition, with a new pagination, appeared in ample time (three years) to serve the writers' purposes.

Yale University

SHERMAN KENT

GEORGE FOX'S "BOOK OF MIRACLES." Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Henry J. Cadbury. Foreword by Rufus M. Jones. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 162. \$6.50.)

GEORGE Fox's "Book of Miracles" throws light on an aspect of seventeenth century religion which is considered somewhat naive and bizarre today but which helps to explain the intolerant reaction of more conservative religious bodies toward the enthusiastic sects of the Puritan period, especially the Quakers. To members of these groups the Apostolic days had returned. Men not only had visions and new insights but miraculous powers were bestowed upon those whom the Spirit touched. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, "felt clearly that the miracles surrounding his life and the beginnings of the Quaker movement were too numerous and too significant to be ignored." Thus he wrote, in his later years, a collection of episodes entitled the "Book of Miracles."

George Fox left provision for the printing of his work, naming thirteen Friends to have the matter in charge, with powers to omit and to edit. Under the direction of Thomas Ellwood three large volumes were published; the *Journal* in 1694, the *Epistles* in 1698, and the *Doctrinal Works* in 1706. At this point the project was abandoned and knowledge of an additional manuscript must have been lost as no reference to the "Book of Miracles" exists after 1698.

By a skillful method of objective reconstruction Henry J. Cadbury has restored much of the content of the lost book of the Quaker leader. Through research in the *Annual Catalogue* of George Fox's papers, made between 1694 and 1698, Dr. Cadbury discovered that events in the life of Fox were alphabetically indexed in a manner which gave the first and last words of passages in the writings of Fox containing any given incident, and a reference to the collection and page of George Fox's writings in which the incident was found. By a careful study of these references Henry Cadbury has discovered much concerning the "miracles." The accounts follow a general pattern. In the healing miracles, which make up the bulk of incidents considered miraculous, George Fox evidently recorded the patient's illness, his intervention, the resulting improvement, immediate or permanent, the thanks given to God, and the wonder of the spectators. Henry Cadbury has been able to locate the names of many individuals cured and much data concerning each event. Often he has been able to demonstrate that the editors of the *Journal* toned down the "miracle," and removed phrases from the accounts which might lead to an exaggerated regard for Fox or bring criticism on the society.

In the introduction, which covers more than half the book, Henry Cadbury, gives an illuminating study of the place of miracles in seventeenth century religion; Rufus M. Jones, from his wide knowledge of the mystical sects, wrote, while the book was in press, a valuable foreword.

Friends School, Baltimore

BLISS FORBUSH

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Edited by *Hector Bolitho*. [The "British Heritage" Series.] (New York: B. T. Batsford. 1948. Pp. ix, 246. \$6.00.)

THIS volume, first planned toward the end of the recent war, is a collection of treatments of all parts of the British Empire. Over half the book is devoted to the Dominions and India, with lesser parts of the empire handled collectively in some cases. The various chapters are written by persons specially qualified by an intimate knowledge of the regions for which they are responsible.

The shadow of the changes to be brought by war is evident in the request to each contributor that he consider "his country in the light of what may happen tomorrow." Hector Bolitho, the editor, is much concerned with the preservation of the empire, the hope that the "bond remains lively and that it manifests its strength now that the second world war has ended." It is the devout hope of the editor that enough of the soldiers "who are allowed to see a sight of God's face . . . may live to translate their vision back into everyday life."

The contributions vary greatly in quality and length. That on Canada by Wilfrid Eggleston is excellent—a vivid account of the amazing steps Canada has taken in recent years. Neville Thomson's contribution on Australia is written from intimate knowledge but with less detachment. Bolitho's chapter on New Zealand is much less satisfactory—it is chatty, effervescent, rather boastful, and seems

largely composed, as to its data, from a use of the *New Zealand Year Book*. Julian Mockford's "Southern Africa" is written with intimate knowledge and an evident desire to set right Negrophilists in Britain as to the relations of Black and White South Africa. It is replete with brilliant characterizations. W. J. Grant's "India" presents India's prospects in a pleasing manner but with caution as to what the future of India will be. Burma is included, and Newfoundland is treated briefly and without reference to her possible union with Canada.

The volume, expressing conscious pride in the widespread empire, is a useful appraisal as of the end of the recent war. The historical backgrounds are usually sketchy. As a Batsford book, the format is pleasing. The illustrations, some in color, are abundant. The 170 photographs contain many unusual views: they are related to the accounts by specific references in the text. "Specially drawn maps" are included, but they are too small in size and too large in scale to have much value. All in all, a readable introduction to the varied empire of today.

Oberlin College

HOWARD ROBINSON

ENGLISH SPORTS AND PASTIMES. By *Christina Hole*. (New York: B. T. Batsford. 1949. Pp. viii, 183. \$4.50.)

THE author has given us an interesting book of rather moderate size on a large subject. This she interprets at once narrowly and broadly. There are certainly few types of amusement which are not awarded at least some mention if Englishmen ever had anything to do with them, from fox hunting through hurling, nurr and spell, singlestick, church ales and mystery plays, to masques, spas, and circuses. If the scope is extensive, the interpretation is restricted. The jacket describes the author as a "recorder of English social history," and the preface seems to promise that "a clear indication" of the English character will be demonstrated from the material (p. vi), but the actual observations directed to this end are scattered here and there and nowhere brought to a focus.

Miss Hole approaches her subject definitely in the role of a folklorist. She has packed her book with a mass of rather esoteric information which, in spite of her rather difficult method of handling chronology, she has kept surprisingly well under control. Each diversion is dealt with topically and carried through the whole period of its existence. This method of treatment requires an agile reader, who finds himself hunting in the eighteenth century on page 16, stalking wildfowl with Henry VIII on page 18, angling with Juliana Bernes in the fifteenth century on page 19, and evading the traps and "steel-guns" (spring guns?) set for poachers in the eighteenth century on page 21. Likewise, having begun chapter iv with medieval football and ended it with top-hatted cricket early in the nineteenth century, the reader returns to the Middle Ages in the next chapter to exercise himself with quarterstaff, sword, and longbow. This method has the advantage of dealing with any particular pastime in one small space but it makes it

difficult to relate sports and other amusements to the development of English society as a whole.

It is also noticeable that as soon as an amusement has passed into the nineteenth century the author seems to lose interest in it and the story is soon broken off. The illustrations, which include some instructive photographs, do a little to remedy this lack, but it is clear that for Miss Hole the last hundred years want the necessary flavor of folklore and antiquarian appeal because sports and pastimes were becoming too "mechanical and standardised" (p. vi).

Within these limits the book is a valuable mass of information on a subject too long neglected. Miss Hole has kept her head in spite of the complexities of her material and method. Her inaccuracies seem to be trifling and she has shown a positive genius for clear and compact statement.

Brown University

CHESTER H. KIRBY

POLITICS AND THE PRESS, c. 1780-1850. By *A. Aspinall*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Reading. (London: Home and Van Thal. 1949. Pp. xv, 511. 42s.)

THE crucial struggle for the freedom of the press in England came in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although censorship had disappeared in 1685, and was not revived even in the Napoleonic period, when it was demonstrably needed for security reasons, the press was still far from free even down to the time of the first reform bill. Publishers were shackled by the threat of prosecution for criminal libel, particularly severe under the anti-Jacobin legislation of the Revolutionary period, by the "taxes on knowledge," the stamp duty and the duties on advertisements and paper, and by the efforts of politicians to influence editorial opinion through devious means, chiefly financial. The main battle for a free press revolved, then, not around censorship, but around three other issues: what Bentham called the "prosecuting system"; taxation; and the financial and political influence over the press of certain government departments, particularly the Treasury. William H. Wickwar has described in an earlier monograph the fight against government prosecutions, and in this book Professor Aspinall deals with the emancipation of the press from the control or influence of politicians.

He is more concerned, however, with the political control itself than with the emancipation from it, and most of his book is devoted to showing in detail just how this control worked. The story has not been told before, for the excellent reason that efforts of politicians to influence the press were of necessity surreptitious and hence are not recorded in the regular sources. Professor Aspinall has met this difficulty by gaining access to a large number of collections of private papers, from which he has painstakingly collected information that is entirely fresh and in part even sensational. Considering the many testimonials made in the early nineteenth century to the value of a free press, it is something of a surprise to realize

how little the press was free in that period, and how little politicians desired that it should be so. Even the Whigs, who toasted the freedom of the press at their banquets, failed to repeal the stamp tax when they came to power in 1806-1807 and 1830-34. This was not an unintentional slip, for the duty on newspapers, which advanced to fourpence in 1815 and stayed at that height until 1836, was the most important single cause of restricted sales. Limited circulation left newspapers in a precarious financial position where they were not able to withstand government pressure, and the Whigs took advantage of this weakness as much as the Tories. Pressure from the government, as Mr. Aspinall shows in an intensely documented narrative, included among other things subsidies from the secret service funds, placing of government advertisements which constituted an additional subsidy almost as large, buying and circulating newspapers gratis, and giving advance release of news. The skill of politicians in exploiting their advantage delayed the emancipation of the press for an undetermined but considerable number of years. This type of influence did not cease until the strongest papers, by providing the public with the news and opinions that it wanted, had increased their circulation and improved their financial position sufficiently to put them beyond the government's reach.

The great merit of Professor Aspinall's book is the wealth of new materials he has assembled on a subject that was heretofore very little understood. Some readers may not like his plain and factual manner of presentation. But the evidence he has brought to light is so extensive and so interesting that his work constitutes an important contribution to the study of British political history.

State University of Iowa

W. O. AYDELOTTE

THE EARLY ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS: DOCUMENTS FROM THE HOME OFFICE PAPERS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. By *A. Aspinall*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Reading. (London: Batchworth Press. 1949. Pp. xxxi, 410. 30s.)

TODAY in Great Britain the trade union movement is not only a recognized, integral part of the British economy but also the dominant force in His Majesty's Labour Government.

Much has been written of the evolution of British trade unionism, from the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824 to the present day. Comparatively little, however, has been told of the half century of trade union activity before 1824, when unions were regarded as illegal, subversive organizations. By editing and publishing this fascinating collection of Home Office papers in the Public Record Office—many of them protests by employers and local authorities against the activities of workers intent on obtaining better conditions of labor—Professor Aspinall of the University of Reading has thrown much light on this difficult and dangerous period.

Most of the protests here recorded, penned between the years 1791 and 1824, are based upon the premise that any combination of workers, whether to raise or to lower the price of labor, is an illegal conspiracy and ought to be punished as an unlawful act. Many protests are also recorded from workers who claim that, if labor is to be punished for conspiring to increase wages, employers should likewise be brought into court for combining to reduce wages.

Protest after protest from employers claimed that, left to themselves, their workers would be a contented lot but that they were victimized by irresponsible foreigners or had been whipped into hysteria by the revolutionary events in France. In numerous instances, the Home Secretary was urged to dispatch troops to the disaffected district in which workers, bent on "mischief and outrage," were demanding better wages. Many real or alleged cases of violence were cited. Dealing with the economics of trade unionism, the protesters claimed that it was unsound economics to try to interfere with the "natural price of labor," which "depends on circumstances beyond the control of masters or servants." The prices of labor, they maintained, should be "free and unshackled."

As the letters of protest approach the year 1824, they are filled with a feeling of increasing pessimism as to the ability of the Combination Acts to prevent trade unions from expanding despite their illegality. Even when workers are arrested, some of the letters contend, "imprisonment has no effect, especially if it is inflicted in the same neighborhood as the offense was committed. The criminal considers it as an honor; he and his family live better than when he was at liberty, for the purses of the whole workmen of the district are opened by compulsion for their support."

The situation came, in the early 1820's, to such a pass that a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the Combination Acts. The committee reported that these laws had greatly aggravated the evil they were intended to remove; had "created jealousy, ill-will and discontent," and had resulted in breaches of the peace. Further, while many workers had been punished for violating the law, "no instance had come to light of a master being punished for breaking the law." Because of this and other reasons, the Combination Acts should be repealed. Repeal quickly followed.

Besides the well-documented and carefully selected papers to the Home Office, the book contains an excellent introduction by Professor Aspinall, describing the significant labor developments of these turbulent times. Students of British labor are deeply indebted to the author for this painstaking and scholarly collection of more than one hundred typical communications to the Home Office and for the flood of light they cast on the terrific struggle through which the trade unions had to pass before they were accepted as a legitimate and necessary force in the economic life of the nation.

New York City

HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE TRADE WINDS: A STUDY OF BRITISH OVERSEAS TRADE DURING THE FRENCH WARS, 1793-1815. Edited by *C. Northcote Parkinson*, Late Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948, 1949. Pp. 336. \$4.75.)

ALTHOUGH this notable study of British shipping and trade is identified with a period of war, it would be a great mistake to presume that it is primarily concerned with war emergencies. As the editor points out, the eighteenth century was disturbed by so many wars that there were as many years of war as of peace. The one condition was as "normal" as the other. Furthermore, the period from 1793 to 1815 was marked by constructive developments of port facilities which make it especially significant for the understanding of both the earlier and the later periods. The organization of the great shipping lanes was also characteristic of this period. The East India trade was still a monopoly of the company; the West India trade was more prosperous than it had been in the past, or than it was at any later period. Until 1807, the slave trade remained an important activity. Though it was much diminished at London and Bristol, it was expanding at Liverpool up to the actual date of its termination. With the exception of the trade with the United States, the structure of British shipping was the end result of tendencies that reached far back into the eighteenth century. In the course of a generation, the pattern was profoundly changed. The rise of American shipping and the industrial development of Great Britain created new conditions and opened a new phase in maritime history. All these elements of interest are presented with great clarity and with noteworthy discrimination and balance of judgment.

The quality of the volume is due to the skillful collaboration of the eight authors. The advantages of wide knowledge have been gained without any loss in unity of presentation. There are six general chapters, and six chapters on special trades. Chapters on shipowning and marine insurance, and on the employment of British shipping were contributed by C. Ernest Fayle. Ships of the period and the seamen are described by Basil Lubbock. The ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol are described by C. Northcote Parkinson, A. C. Wardle, and C. M. MacInnes; health and sickness by J. A. Nixon. The East India trade is described by C. Northcote Parkinson; the West India trade, by Miss Lucy Frances Horsfall; the American trade, by Herbert Heaton; the Newfoundland trade, by A. C. Wardle; the slave trade, by C. M. MacInnes; and the post office packets, by A. C. Wardle. The coasting trade, fisheries, privateers, the trade to South America, and the channel smuggling trade were omitted because they were too specialized. The volume is, thus, far from being exhaustive, but the authors were wise to focus attention on the primary features of a field of activity which breaks down rapidly into a mass of details.

The increase in the volume of British trade in the eighteenth century was accommodated primarily by an increase in the number of ships. There were only

minor changes in the size of the vessels working on the various shipping lanes. The increase in the number of vessels placed a great strain on the ports, so that added facilities were required. The expansion of port facilities was achieved by increased use of wet docks. The technique itself was not new at this time. Howland's Dock at London had been finished in 1700; the earliest docks at Liverpool date from 1715. Bristol constructed some docks during the century. The construction of the West India Docks at London (1799-1802) marked the beginning of the modernization of the port. Unloading at quays or into lighters was largely supplanted by the system of docks and warehouses, which were gradually supplied with mechanized equipment. The withdrawal of shipping from open moorings brought to an end systematic pillage by river thieves.

The recruitment and conditions of life for officers and seamen varied too much among different trades and ships to admit of much generalization; but the right to cargo space for private trading ventures was clearly an important factor in the effective compensation for service, for seamen as well as for officers, though the latter were in a preferred position. The East India trade and the post office packets presented the outstanding opportunities for private trade. The slave trade provided the least opportunity, though the return voyage from the West Indies was comparable in many respects to other trades.

Life at sea presented many special hazards to health. Although there was some medical knowledge of possible treatments of scurvy as early as 1599, there was no adequate requirement for the provision of antiscorbutic foods, even at the close of the eighteenth century. Practices differed among the British, French, and Dutch, and much discretion remained with the captain. Scurvy continued to be a menace to health. Malaria, yellow fever, and typhus could be picked up at shore stations and were more difficult to control at sea. It is dangerous to express the combined hazards in mortality rates; but there are British and Dutch records of the East India trade which show mortality rates as high as twenty-five per cent of the normal complement of the ship for as many as three hundred ships. Percentages are difficult to calculate, because of the renewals in the crew. At the close of the century, there are some records of the slave trade which indicate that mortality among the Negroes was no greater than among the crew. In fact, there were complaints that the medical officer gave less attention to the crew than to the slaves.

The text describes the distribution of shipping among the various trades, both those separately treated and those omitted. There is a full record of ship movement for 1792, and a general description of the effects of the wars. The disturbances due to privateering and the blockades were less than might be supposed. Commerce raiding was reduced to moderate proportions by the convoy system. This resulted in some delay, but many trades were based upon annual voyages so that delays were of secondary importance. The blockades were less significant than their formal prescriptions would suggest, because both British and French used

the prohibitory orders as a basis for licensing systems. Trade was strictly regulated but not fully interrupted. The embargo attempted by the United States failed to achieve its purpose. Even in 1808, British exports amounted to about one half the total for 1807. The authors do not hazard any conclusion, but the total record points strongly to the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions.

Harvard University

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER

FRANCIS THE GOOD: THE EDUCATION OF AN EMPEROR, 1768-1792.

By *Walter Consuelo Langsam*, President, Wagner College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 205. \$3.50.)

NINETEENTH century liberal historians have been inclined to be severely critical of the reactionary Habsburg rulers who followed Maria Theresa and Joseph II. President Langsam has undertaken to re-examine the evidence and to redress to some extent the balance by writing a scholarly biography of Emperor Francis. His first volume, dealing meticulously with the first third of his life—from his birth to his accession as emperor—is to be followed by two more volumes covering the years 1792-1815 and 1815-1835.

By examining a mass of unpublished papers in the Austrian archives—diaries, reports, and letters of Francis himself and of his tutors and relatives—Professor Langsam is able to give a detailed, matter-of-fact picture of the stupid, narrow, joyless training imposed on the archduke in childhood; his frail stature; his interest in trifles; his collection and cataloguing of books, prints, and portraits; and his life with the first two of his four wives. The first died in childbirth and the last two were childless, but the third, the devoted and fun-loving Marie Therese, lived up to the prolific tradition of Maria Theresa by bearing a dozen children in sixteen years before her death in 1807 at the age of thirty-four.

Joseph II chose the tutors and laid down the rules for his nephew's education and tried to instill into him something of his own impetuous energy and reforming zeal, but without much success. Though Francis dutifully tried to conform, uncle and nephew never saw eye to eye and were not happy together. During the two years of Leopold II's reign, Archduke Francis was given a large share in administration and showed the same kindly interest in the people's welfare, the same excessive attention to details, and the same conscientious effort to live up to his responsibilities that characterized his rule later as emperor.

President Langsam has not attempted to write a "life and times." He says almost nothing about foreign affairs in these exciting years and only so much about domestic administration as is necessary to explain Francis' part in it. He is sympathetic with the archduke's personality and efforts but is too conscientious a scholar to picture them more favorably than is warranted by the material cited in abundant footnotes.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

THE ROME-BERLIN AXIS: A HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN HITLER AND MUSSOLINI. By *Elizabeth Wiskemann*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 376. \$5.00.)

In outline, the story of the relations between Hitler and Mussolini is clear enough. In 1933, Hitler seemed an uncouth admiring disciple. When, by the Austrian Putsch of 1934, he moved into the Italian sphere of influence, Mussolini promptly mobilized his troops along the Brenner frontier, and Hitler retreated. The Abyssinian campaign began, and the Spanish Civil War accelerated, the reversal of the relationship between the two dictators. By the summer of 1937, Mussolini had earned the ill-will of the British and French by his aggression, and their contempt by the contrast between his boasting and the record of his soldiers in battle. The British and French governments were eager to win him as an ally, but they could not offer the territorial gains he thought essential for the maintenance of his prestige at home, and, possibly of even greater importance, they could not conceal the growing contempt of their countrymen for Italian Fascism.

So, on his visit to Germany in September, 1937, Mussolini threw in his lot with Hitler. The Germans had even less respect for the Italians; but in a totalitarian state the expression of opinion could be controlled. The Nazis had no intention of furthering the imperialist ambitions of Fascism in southern Europe; but the Nazi government could conceal its intentions.

Disillusionment soon began. The first shock was the annexation of Austria in March, 1938. Mussolini received no advance notice of the German move, and indiscreet Nazis boasted that this was only the beginning of a sustained advance to the southeast, into what he regarded as the Italian sphere of influence.

Momentarily, Mussolini moved towards alliance with Britain. When, however, Hitler came to Italy and promised not only to respect the Brenner frontier but also to aid Italian expansion, the Anglo-Italian Agreement of April, 1938, was, in effect, nullified. Throughout the Czech crisis, Mussolini supported Germany, and at the Munich conference he seemed once more to have the position of an equal partner.

Again he was disillusioned. German determination to control the Balkans became ever clearer. When the Germans were planning the annihilation of the remnant of Czechoslovakia, they concealed their plans so completely that Mussolini was still explaining that Nazism aspired only to liberate Germans when the Nazis belied his words by subjugating the Czechs.

The prolonged death agony of Italian Fascism now began. By his subservience to the Nazis, Mussolini was losing his hold on his own people; yet it seemed that he could win the empire necessary to re-establish his hold over his countrymen only by continued subservience to Hitler. So the Axis continued, although the Nazi lies became increasingly transparent and Nazi contempt was scarcely concealed. In the end, the Duce was sustained at home only by a veiled German

occupation; when even this could not hold him in power, he was "rescued" and given a shadow of power because he still had use as a puppet.

This is the story told in great detail by Miss Wiskemann. Back of her writing lies research in what has already become an overwhelming mass of evidence. Unfortunately, she has not facilitated the labors of those who come after her by precise citation of the evidence at every point. In a field where the historian is hampered by too much material, exact citation becomes even more important than in fields where the expert can be expected readily to identify sources.

The manner in which the story is told is, perhaps, significant. This is a serious historical study of a tragic period, yet the story is told with supercilious levity. Mussolini was merely a "journalist"; Hitler was a "paranoiac type," a "subnormal adolescent." Göring, "the Fat Man," had a "grotesquely childish" mentality. We are told of "the political puerility of Ribbentrop and Ciano." Weizsäcker was a "cowardly buffoon"; Papen a "political harlequin"; Mackensen "an astonishingly stupid man"; and Himmler "naive." If all this is true, how are we to characterize Chamberlain and Halifax and Henderson and the rest?

University of California

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

THE FALL OF MUSSOLINI: HIS OWN STORY BY BENITO MUSSOLINI. Translated from the Italian by *Frances Frenaye*. Edited and with a Preface by *Max Ascoli*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company. 1948. Pp. 76, 212. \$3.00.)

IN the summer of 1944, some observers of the Axis in Europe, who were devoting special attention to Mussolini's Social Republic, were struck by the peculiarly Mussolinian tone and style of an impressive series of articles in the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan dealing with important developments preceding and following the political and military collapse of the Fascist regime—the famous meeting of the Grand Council of Fascism, the overthrow, incarceration, and "liberation" of the "Duce," etc. There was little surprise when Mussolini eventually disclosed that he was the author and added a brief preface to the publication of the series in the form of a pamphlet issued as a supplement by the newspaper under the following title: "Benito Mussolini. *Il tempo del bastone e della carota. Storia di un anno (ottobre 1942-settembre 1943)*. Supplemento del 'Corriere della Sera,' n. 190 del 9-8-1944-XXII [pp. 47 and a one-page appendix]."

After the publication of the pamphlet, Mussolini continued to write, edit, or inspire articles in the press and to prepare materials intended to buttress and round out the pamphlet as well as other writings of a historical and semiautobiographical character. In November, 1944, the Mondadori publishing company of Milan issued the following book: "Benito Mussolini. *Storia di un anno (Il tempo del bastone e della carota)*. [pp. 223 plus 40 or so pages of appendixes]." As we shall

see presently, this book is much more than a reprint of the pamphlet, involving a mere reversal of title and subtitle.

Aside from problems connected with Mussolini's original manuscript, which need not detain us here, it is the book of November, 1944, not the pamphlet of August, 1944, which should be regarded as the "definitive" published edition of what has come to be known as Mussolini's *Storia di un anno* or "History of a Year."

All this is said by way of guiding the reader through the maze of misunderstanding or equivocation that might easily arise from a perusal of the volume under review. The work is divided into two main parts, one might say, two little books: Dr. Ascoli's preface (*ca.* 65 pages), and Mussolini's "own story," separately paginated (pp. 1-202), followed by a "Key to Names and Places."

It is most unfortunate that Dr. Ascoli chose to present to the English-speaking public the pamphlet, not the book, by Mussolini, proceeding on the highly questionable, and in any case fragile, ground that "it was in pamphlet form that the book had its largest circulation," though, we repeat, the book and the pamphlet are not one and the same thing. The result is that a number of items contained in the book but not in the pamphlet are omitted from the version before us. Certainly, space could have been found in the extensive preface or in the "editorial notes" to make explicit mention, or to offer a full explanation, of these items.

Among the omitted items are the following: (1) a fifteen-page chapter on the case of the "traitor" Marshal Messe, who was eventually "liberated" by the British; (2) the text of the Farinacci and Scorza resolutions presented at the last session of the Grand Council; (3) five documents regarding the controversial issue of the high command of the Italian Armed Forces; (4) an eleven-page chapter entitled "Calvary and Resurrection," with significant remarks on Italian and international developments, not the least interesting of which concern the dislocation in the hierarchy of the "Great Powers" that the war would produce—the revelation of American and Russian power, and Britain's being destined to become a second-rate power; (5) letters from Badoglio and Grandi to Mussolini.

As for the translation of the pamphlet, even making allowances for certain more or less legitimate liberties, it leaves much to be desired. This is all the more disappointing in view of Frances Frenaye's reputation as a translator. A goodly number of words or phrases are not translated at all; occasionally, we find the addition of words that do not appear in the Italian; a higher level of accuracy could doubtless have been achieved if closer attention had been paid to the original.

Altogether, then, it is a pity that *The Fall of Mussolini* should be so unsatisfactory. Twice, within a brief span of time, has a signal disservice been rendered to historical scholarship in this country: first, the *Ciano Diaries* (see *American Historical Review*, LIV [October, 1948], 131), and now, the Mussolini "story"—both of which await trustworthy editions in English.

The reviewer regrets that concern with textual matters and limitations of space

preclude him from evaluating, on this occasion, the substance of Mussolini's writing and its relevance to the mounting and, to a considerable extent, irresponsible literature on contemporary Italy.

Queens College

GAUDENS MEGARO

YUGOSLAVIA. Edited by *Robert J. Kerner*, Sather Professor of History in the University of California. [The United Nations Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 558. \$6.50.)

FIFTEEN historians, political scientists, and other scholars have contributed chapters to this book, designed to introduce contemporary Yugoslavia to the general reader. The result is uneven. This reviewer feels that bad judgment has occasionally been displayed in the choice of materials. Many of the individual chapters, on the other hand, are highly rewarding.

The historical chapters, by R. J. Kerner, B. E. Schmitt, and J. C. Adams, resemble tightly packed summaries of these authors' previous books and articles. These were important contributions but were intended for specialists. The impropriety of including them here in this form is glaring, since their inclusion has apparently necessitated the exclusion of material more important for the beginning student of Yugoslavia. Of the seventy pages on "historical background" more than fifty deal with the origins, course, and aftermath of the First World War. Almost no space is devoted to the medieval period or to the period of Turkish domination: nowhere in the book, for example, can one find a clear statement of what happened at the battle of Kosovo, June 28, 1389, or of the implications of the Serbian defeat, though scholars generally agree that this is the critical moment of Serbian history from the psychological as well as from the military point of view. Nowhere is there an analysis by a historian of the Byzantine influence on the Serbs (although we are repeatedly told that it existed), nowhere a full discussion of the role played by the Orthodox Church in the development of nationalism. Yet we have a full statement of the types and quantities of ammunition available to the Serbian army in July, 1914, and a rehearsal of differences of opinion between the "academic" and "nonacademic" members of the American delegation at the peace conference. Some of this distortion is removed by the excellent brief chapter of Alex Dragnich, on "Social Structure," which, alone in the book, gives due weight to the earlier period.

Among the high spots of the work are G. R. Noyes's chapters on south Slav language and literature, which, though necessarily summary, are so well presented that they have none of the tediousness of a catalogue. But why, in a section devoted to "cultural development," are these the only two chapters? Architecture and painting certainly deserved treatment in a chapter of their own: does not the contrast, for example, between the Byzantine-inspired churches of Macedonia with their marvellous frescoes, and the Venetian-inspired churches and secular

buildings of Dalmatia (both styles derivative, yet both original) illuminate the essential differences between the Byzantine influences to which the Serbs were exposed and the Western influences to which the Croats were exposed? The omission of a chapter on this subject is the more unfortunate because these cultural differences, whose political importance has been so fundamental, are only hinted at elsewhere in the book, again by Dr. Dragnich.

The section on "political development" contains two chapters by Malbone W. Graham, in which the various past constitutions of Serbia and of Yugoslavia are analyzed. Documents and political theory interest Graham; political realities and the play of political forces apparently do not. We are given no account of the origin and development of political parties, and learn nothing, for example, about the history of the Communist movement in Yugoslavia, surely of compelling importance, or about the history of Croat extremism, ripening into full flower with Pavelich and the Ustashi. We are given no inkling of the role of the army or of the secret societies in Serbian politics, no indication of the importance of the police under the dictatorship of King Alexander after 1929, a regime praised (pp. 126 ff.) by Graham.

Adequate chapters on "Education," on "The Church," and on "The Moslems" are included in the section on "Social Conditions." D. Beatrice McCown contributes a first-rate chapter on "Agriculture," although one may wonder why the account of the situation in the interwar period (pp. 159 ff.) is given in the present tense. Jozo Tomasevich's chapters on "Foreign Economic Relations, 1918-1941" and "Postwar Foreign Relations" are thoroughly satisfactory: scholarly, temperate, and well informed, they are the best works to have appeared on the subject. Harry Howard deals with Yugoslav foreign policy down to 1946, and Wayne S. Vucinich provides a lucid chapter on internal developments during the Second World War and after, which includes a dispassionate and accurate account of the Tito-Mihailovich struggle, and of the transformation of the partisan guerrilla movement into a Communist government.

The few sketch maps are entirely inadequate: on the very first page of text the reader encounters rivers and mountain ranges he will not find on the maps, and he is repeatedly treated to detailed topographical descriptions of battlefields, boundary changes, and treaty adjustments which he cannot locate. Some contributors have included both notes and a bibliography, some one or the other, and some neither. Surely the editor might have overcome these inconsistencies.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

POLITICAL POWER IN THE U. S. S. R., 1917-1947. By *Julian Towster*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. With an Introduction by Quincy Wright. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 443. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Towster's book on Soviet political power has filled a considerable gap in the information on Soviet government and politics available in the English language. It has opened up to students of government who do not read Russian an extensive body of information which hitherto has not been available to them. The book contains many annotated footnotes which are filled with English translations of several hundred pertinent extracts from Russian books and articles. Based almost entirely on sources in the Russian language, this work has made a unique contribution to the delineation of the theory and the structure of Soviet political institutions. As Quincy Wright well states in the introduction, the author "brings to his task a broad knowledge of Russian history, a detailed examination of Soviet official documents and official pronouncements of the Communist Party, and an understanding of Marxist-Leninist ideology based upon study of the original sources in the Russian language." The book shows the result of years of scholarly application to the problem, and reflects particularly the excellent legal and political science training of the author. *Political Power in the U.S.S.R., 1917-1947* is divided into three parts: part one, the principles of the constitutional order; part two, the structure and operation of government; and part three, the dynamics of political power. Each part is divided into informative chapters with interestingly headed sections and subsections. While the book obviously was not written as a text, it is very logically arranged and can be used for such a purpose.

Unlike the few existing books on Soviet government which usually lean too heavily in the direction of theoretical analyses, or of superficial factual description of governmental institutions, Professor Towster's work makes a happy combination of both the analytical and factual points of view. This work perhaps could have been strengthened had the author included a more detailed analysis of the actual mechanisms of Soviet government, but since the author did all the research for this study in the libraries of the United States, it would be unfair to charge him with omitting some aspects which were physically impossible to cover. There is, however, noted in the work the absence of an analysis of the role of the Soviet police in the development of Soviet political power. It has only been within the last few years that the police character of the Soviet state has become manifest to most people. A scholar cannot be expected to know all the details of the political ramifications of the MVD, NKVD, OGPU, or the CHEKA, because the Russians themselves do not have access to this information. He should, nevertheless, constantly bear in mind that the Soviet police is an agency of the party and of the government, and that the three are inextricably interwoven in the operation of the Soviet state.

The reviewer found most interesting the final part of the book in which the author ventures to discuss the "socio-political balance" and give his conclusions on the nature of the Soviet state, that the dominant forces in the U.S.S.R. are working for the stability of the regime. "As far as the bases of internal stability are concerned, probably the main elements of the regime's strength lie in the gov-

ernment's claim to credit for widespread elimination of illiteracy and ignorance, in its promise of welfare and extreme opportunity for personal growth to the masses of the citizenry, and in its skill in devising psycho-political satisfactions."

Excellent charts on the party pyramid, the Soviet pyramid, the central party organs, and the central Soviet organs, in addition to a most impressive bibliography, end this monumental book.

University of Washington

WILLIAM B. BALLIS

Far Eastern History

CONFUCIUS: THE MAN AND THE MYTH. By *H. G. Creel*, Associate Professor of Early Chinese Literature and Institutions in the University of Chicago. (New York: John Day Company. 1949. Pp. xi, 363. \$5.00.)

WE now have in English a full-length portrait of the man Confucius, based on a critical analysis of the existing authentic sources, and with full knowledge of the extensive revaluation of those sources made by Chinese and Western scholars in the past four decades. Having been for many years a devoted student of ancient Chinese writings, not only of the classics but of the surviving bronzes and the more recently discovered inscribed oracle bones, Dr. Creel is in a position to set forth, as few Western scholars are, the background of the life of China's greatest teacher. As a student of both Eastern and Western philosophy, he is able to interpret the master's thought in the light of parallel ideas in the West.

No effort is here made to delineate Confucianism as a state cult, the sole purpose being, as the title states, to paint as clear a picture of the man and the teacher as the records permit. The sententious utterances in the *Analects*, which are our primary source, are lit up with new significance owing to the truer understanding we now have of the time in which Confucius lived. Virtually all the assertions made are firmly established in the records; yet the proofs for them do not appear as footnotes in the narrative but in the appendix, which also has excellent bibliographies of the important Chinese and Western sources. Dr. Creel writes in an easy, pleasant style, enlivened in places with humor and a gentle irony, befitting the great teacher who himself embodied these qualities. Since Confucius, more than any other person, epitomizes Chinese thought through the centuries, a knowledge of what he really said is necessary to an understanding of the deepest sentiments of the Chinese people. We are now fortunate to have a book which brings out these basic ideas so well. It supersedes all extant English sources; and though other biographies of the sage will in time be written, they will have to take this one into account.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

CHINAS GESCHICHTE. By *Wolfram Eberhard*. (Bern: Verlag Francke. 1948. Pp. 370. 22 fr.)

IN *Chinas Geschichte*, a compact 370 pages, Dr. Eberhard uses recent monographic studies by himself and others to sketch the sort of history which will have to be written at greater length when archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, and sinologues pool their wisdom. This is the first general history of China to make good sense.

Eberhard thinks of China as a mixture of the cultures which have existed in eastern Asia since the days of Sinanthropus. The first culture in which this mixture appeared in its present form was that of the Chous, who about 1000 B.C. introduced a patriarchal, astral, king-priest culture with strong central administration and memories of recent nomadism into a land of rooted farmers who had strong matriarchal traditions, a professional priesthood and local customs which were highly diverse.

The Shang priests had a monopoly of reading and writing. When thrown out of work because the Chous had no need of professional priests, many became bureaucrats and administrators. In later periods they became the landed gentry and Confucianist literati who for 2,000 years have turned their leisure and administrative training to the cultivation of the arts, intrigue, and the wrecking of dynasties. Another section of the priesthood became the magicians and priests of the Taoist cult, where they preserve much of the Shang tradition. In the Mongol dynasty (1260 ff.), a mercantile class broke off from the gentry. Its history has been uneven. A constant in Chinese history has been intercourse with the mobile outlanders: in earlier times Turkic, Tungusic, Tai; in modern times Russian, Japanese, British, American, each with a culture which is strong but different from that of China.

The history of the conflict between these factors provides an opportunity to interpret contemporary problems which Dr. Eberhard does not seize. In the terms of his view of China, Chiang Kai-shek by tradition and policy represents the landed gentry. T. V. Soong, money-man, represents the *compradores*, and Mao Tse-tung the peasants, while the predatory West seeks by invasion or intrigue to conquer or exploit and each of the Chinese leaders tries to outsmart the others and the rest of the world.

Many monographic studies in the last twenty years by Chinese, Japanese, and Occidentals return to the official histories their proper function as secondary sources in which the gentry considers and interprets that part of the record available to it. Although large areas are still obscure, the structure is beginning to take form.

For the general reader *Chinas Geschichte*, which will soon appear in Mrs. Eberhard's English translation, makes Chinese history intelligible if not clear. For the specialist on China this book is a trial balance of what we know and what

we need to know and an amazingly helpful working hypothesis for thought about China's past and future.

Corvallis, Oregon

R. D. JAMESON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1932. Volumes III and IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publications 3152, 3162.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. c, 777; xciii, 774. \$2.75 each.)

IN September, 1948, the United States Department of State released for publication the third and fourth volumes of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932*, which were devoted entirely to documentation on international affairs in the Far East. The volumes were compiled by John Gilbert Reid, of the Division of Historical Policy Research in the Department of State, under the direction of E. R. Perkins, editor of the *Foreign Relations* series.

The relative importance of Far Eastern diplomacy in the year 1932, in retrospect, is shown by the fact that the five volumes of *Foreign Relations* for 1932 devote one volume to general multilateral subjects, one volume to Europe, the Near East, and Africa, and one volume to the American Republics, while two volumes are devoted to the Far East. This allocation of space is not inappropriate in view of the oft-quoted remark of Secretary of State Cordell Hull to the effect that the Second World War did not begin in 1939 with the Nazi aggression against Poland but rather in 1931 with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

The earlier phases of the Far Eastern crisis which opened with the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, are recorded in the third volume of *Foreign Relations* for the year 1931. Additional documents for the year 1932, as well as 1931, were published at an earlier date, namely in the special edition of *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941*, released by the State Department in two volumes in the year 1943.

The two volumes for the year 1932, as well as the other volumes just mentioned, are useful to the historian who seeks to analyze and appraise the negotiations resulting from the Japanese aggression against China. The volumes are, in a measure, supplementary to *The Far Eastern Crisis: Recollections and Observations*, published in 1936 by Henry L. Stimson, three years after the Hoover Cabinet went out of office, and also to his more recently published memoirs entitled *On Active Service in War and Peace* (1948). Nothing in the two volumes under review conflicts with the facts as already related by the statesman who held the post of Secretary of State in the troubled years 1929-1933. Neither, on the other hand, do these two volumes of *Foreign Relations* throw much new light on the diplomacy of the Far Eastern crisis. The American people were adequately if not fully informed of the negotiations as they progressed from day to day by means of the press conferences with Secretary Stimson as well as the memorandums furnished

to Congress by the Department of State. Prominent among the congressional papers was the document that bore the title "Conditions in Manchuria," which was issued as a Senate document early in 1932 and received wide distribution.

On January 7, 1932, Secretary Stimson dispatched his famous notes to Japan and China announcing the determination of the United States government to refuse to recognize the legality of any treaty forced upon China contrary to the Paris Peace Pact of 1938. The documents that follow the note of January 7 indicate the disheartening campaign waged by the Secretary of State to support the treaties guaranteeing the territorial and administrative integrity of the Chinese Republic. Particularly pertinent are the memorandums of transatlantic telephone conversations which Secretary Stimson held with the British prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, and the British foreign minister, Sir John Simon, in February, 1932. At this time, the Japanese army and navy were advancing upon Shanghai, while the military clique in Tokyo which had captured control of the Japanese government was employing the old trick of dual diplomacy to mislead and confuse both the British and American governments.

There is no evidence in the record of these conversations of any proposals for the application of economic or military sanctions against the obstreperous state. Both Secretary Stimson and Sir John Simon urged a strong diplomatic front against Japan, but that was about all. There also is nothing in the record, so far as the two volumes under review are concerned, to indicate that the British government failed to co-operate with the American peace efforts. Of the two foreign secretaries, perhaps Secretary Stimson, in spite of his many admirable qualities, was less realistic than the British foreign secretary. He was still under the illusion that peace could be obtained through the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact although the United States stubbornly remained outside the League of Nations. It was four years later, as a private citizen, that Henry L. Stimson courageously called upon his fellow citizens to combat Fascism and Hitlerism by support of the League of Nations.

The arrival of Joseph C. Grew in Tokyo in June, 1932, as American ambassador to Japan, brought a more adequate reporting system. Hereafter, more complete reports upon Japanese political affairs reached the State Department, particularly regarding the collapse of parliamentary government and the promotion of a popular war psychology by means of propaganda. A check of *Ten Years in Japan: A Contemporary Record Drawn from the Diaries and Private and Official Papers of Joseph C. Grew, United States Ambassador to Japan, 1932-1942*, published in 1944, indicates no discrepancy between this diary and the reports received by the Department of State.

Finally, a few words should be said about the index. Every compilation of diplomatic papers should contain a chronological summary of the documents at the beginning of each volume and an index of names of persons and subjects at the end of each volume. The summary of the two volumes of *Foreign Relations*

is adequate, but the index is meager, illogical, and clumsy. It is worse than useless; the reader will gain time, in the long run, by ignoring it and by simply thumbing the pages.

Northwestern University

KENNETH COLEGROVE

American History

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S MEMOIRS. Parallel Text Edition. Edited, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes, by *Max Farrand*, late Director of Research at the Huntington Library. (Berkeley: University of California Press, in coöperation with the Huntington Library. 1949. Pp. xxxix, 422. \$12.50.)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: A RESTORATION OF A "FAIR COPY." By *Max Farrand*. (Berkeley: University of California Press in coöperation with the Huntington Library. 1949. Pp. xxvii, 210. \$2.50.)

READERS of the *Review* who did not follow the research on Franklin's autobiography by the late Dr. Max Farrand will be surprised to learn that, until now, no authoritative text has been available. Published hundreds of times in English, and translated into many foreign languages, the Memoirs, as Franklin himself called the autobiography, have been the subject of much research and, at times, acrimonious controversy.

For exactly half a century the version published by William Temple Franklin in 1818 was regarded as authoritative. In 1868, John Bigelow, having discovered the original manuscript while minister to France, published what he described as "the unmutilated and correct version" of the autobiography, with a scathing criticism of Temple Franklin. Critics and historians joined Bigelow in denouncing Temple for changing words and phrases to make the Memoirs more "genteel" and adding to Franklin's simple and appropriate salutation, "Dear Son," the more formal and grandiose address, "TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY, NORTH AMERICA." It was good sport! Bigelow's text was acclaimed on all sides, and, for eighty years, it was used by authors and editors, including Smyth, as the standard version. Now it in turn is challenged. Instead of 1,200 changes attributed to Temple, Bigelow is charged with nearly as many thousand.

The opportunity to set things right came through the acquisition by the Huntington Library in 1911 of Franklin's original manuscript. For more than a decade after 1926 Dr. Farrand devoted much of his leisure time to the problem of developing an authoritative text, and soon came to the conclusion that Franklin did not plan to publish his manuscript without revision. Instead, two "fair copies," made under his personal direction in 1789, more nearly represented what he would have published. But the "fair copies" are lost. One had been sent to Benjamin

Vaughan in London, the other to M. Le Veillard, mayor of Passy and Franklin's friend. The latter was acquired from Le Veillard by Temple Franklin in exchange for Franklin's original manuscript and used in his edition of Franklin's writings. Fortunately, Le Veillard had made a careful French translation, which is now in the *Library of Congress*. Another French translation of the first part of the autobiography, apparently made from the fair copy sent to Vaughan, was published by Buisson in 1791. Franklin's original manuscript and these three versions constitute the four basic texts, here printed in parallel columns with a scholarly introduction, in the large quarto volume, for students.

On the basis of intensive textual analysis, and his sympathetic understanding of Franklin and his writings, Dr. Farrand had completed the restoration of a "fair copy" of the first of the four parts of the autobiography, and was at work on the second, at the time of his death in 1945. Mr. Godfrey Davies, assisted by members of the research staff of the Huntington Library, loyally completed the task. The composite result is presented in *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: A Restoration of a "Fair Copy,"* and acclaimed by the publishers as the first authoritative text.

A comparison of the restored text with Franklin's original does not reveal any startling changes. "They relate," said Dr. Farrand, "only to questions of style, occasionally touching the picturesque wording of a phrase or sentence—nothing more." Possibly because of this, variations even in the basic texts are not indicated by italics or other devices. There is no index or table of contents in either volume. Franklin's own outline, which might appropriately have served as a suggestive table of contents for the "restored text," is printed as an appendix in the "parallel text" volume. Historical footnotes are conspicuously few in number. The absence of any facsimile reproductions is unfortunate. Franklin's original manuscript is extremely interesting for many reasons, and the reproduction of a few typical pages would reveal things that cannot possibly be appreciated from the printed text. The omission is the more surprising since Dr. Farrand made such effective use of the photostat in his first published study on the subject. Then too, there are those who may still prefer Franklin's original, even though unedited, to the restored "fair copy." To Franklin scholars, sensitive to his ideas on capitalization and punctuation, the extraordinary departure in the Farrand text from Franklin's original manuscript on the one hand, and Temple's version on the other, is very surprising. Sixty to seventy variations from the former, and more than a third as many from the latter in a single page, raise the question whether this *Restoration of a "Fair Copy"* isn't just another, and somewhat modernized, text.

Looking at the story of the Memoirs in the light of Franklin's own extraordinary editorial experience, his attitude toward the respective texts is reasonably clear. Reference is made in the introduction to the Variorum Shakespeare, but Franklin's sense of values would hardly tolerate making the emendations and mutilations of successive editors the basis for a variorum Franklin autobiography.

Certainly the editorial policy which allows him to elaborate, and, so far as possible, complete his own story, by assembling his other writings of an autobiographical content and arranging them chronologically with the Memoirs, as Van Doren has done, would be more to his liking. Moreover, the reviewer can't resist the wish that somewhere in the volumes here under review adequate emphasis were given to the fact that despite its remarkable human quality, the autobiography really affords a very inadequate picture of Franklin. Not only does it end in 1757, but much of it should be read in the light of the pragmatic philosophy of life reflected in his other writings.

Unfortunately Dr. Farrand's ill-health interfered with his later work on the autobiography, and much was left unfinished. Nevertheless, historical scholarship is greatly indebted to him for clarifying our rather nebulous and unsatisfactory knowledge of the text of the autobiography, and for giving us a "fair copy," of this popular American literary classic.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

AESCULAPIUS COMES TO THE COLONIES: THE STORY OF THE
EARLY DAYS OF MEDICINE IN THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL
COLONIES. By *Maurice Bear Gordon*, M.D. (Ventnor, N. J.: Ventnor Pub-
lishers. 1949. Pp. xiv, 560. \$10.00.)

THIS work continues the still dominant amateur tradition of American medical historiography. Partly because trained historians have neglected the field, physicians have written most of our medical history, and with certain notable exceptions (*e.g.*, Packard, Blanton, Middleton, Cordell) they have written it in the filiopietistic spirit of the genealogist or town historian. To the antiquarian every datum is as important as every other datum because it relates to "olden times," and the article or book he compiles is exactly the length of all his data laid end to end in paragraphs. Compression by generalization is an art unknown to him; he prefers to repeat earlier historians rather than to refer his reader to them; and since he assumes in his reader as devoted an interest in the subject as his own, he is little concerned with the problem of style.

Dr. Gordon's narrative of "the early days of medicine" in America is the product of a praiseworthy devotion, but it exhibits these and related faults on a monumental scale. After a brief and miscellaneous introduction he provides a chapter apiece on the thirteen colonies with the exception of North and South Carolina, which for reasons not apparent are considered together. Each chapter begins with a review, sometimes quite lengthy, of the civil and political history of the colony from its settlement to beyond the Revolution. Then follow assorted facts relating to epidemics, hospitals, medical organizations, statutes concerning health and medical practice, and so on. These are, however, sandwiched in among the biographical sketches of colonial practitioners which make up the bulk of the

work. Hundreds of these sketches are given, but virtually all of them (as the author acknowledges) are rewritten from collective medical biographies and other secondary sources. The unhappy result is seen in such a sketch as that of Benjamin Rush, where about a dozen erroneous, questionable, or misleading statements are concentrated in three pages of text. This is undoubtedly an extreme case, but it shows how error is compounded by the scissors-and-paste method of composition.

Footnotes have not been allowed to "encumber" the text, but Dr. Gordon's final chapter describes his "major sources." Here is provided a respectable list of books and articles on our early medical history, but such primary sources as the colonial physicians' own writings, the great collections of colonial archives, and contemporary newspapers and magazines are conspicuously absent.

Here, then, is assembled in an apparently orderly but actually very awkward arrangement a great mass of data on colonial medicine and its practitioners. The book is not attractively enough written to interest the general reader, and it is not critically enough written to serve well as a textbook or work of reference. Yet doubtless the amateur compilers of medical history, who are a flourishing tribe, will welcome it as a new and abundant "source" of information.

Princeton University

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE 1860. In five volumes. Edited by *Edgar W. Knight*. Volume I, EUROPEAN INHERITANCES. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 744. \$12.50.)

THIS, the first volume of Dr. Knight's projected documentary history, is, for the most part, devoted to the pre-Revolutionary period. The Southern area during this early period exhibits the identical educational activities that were common to other parts of the country. There was no unique contribution; in fact, the British colonists everywhere tended to reproduce the educational forms of Great Britain. Thus in the South as elsewhere on the eastern seaboard one finds some consideration given the care and education of indigent children, illegitimate children, orphans, and children of indentured servants. Under the influence of the Established Church and, later, other religious congregations, efforts were made also to educate the Indian and the African slave.

Parallel with these undertakings was the problem of education for the children of settlers and planters. Again, the South exhibits the usual pattern, beginning with the trading company school and culminating in the "old field school," the academy, and, for affluent planters, the tutor. These establishments reveal support from familiar sources; the church, the endowment by private philanthropy, and the community. Frequently the itinerant schoolmaster himself promoted and operated a school. Finally, in hope of supplying a ministry, there emerges in the

College of William and Mary, chartered after long efforts in 1693, a collegiate establishment. Whether the Southern Quakers maintained schools like those of the Quaker colonies, following George Fox's urging, does not appear. Perhaps this theme is reserved for a later volume.

Although, so far as the bulk of the population was concerned, the need was far from satisfied, these documents provide abundant testimony of the concern of the inhabitants regarding education, both as an essential in making a living and for the understanding of Christianity. Interest was as keen in North Carolina as Virginia and in Georgia as South Carolina. Aside from Sir William Berkeley's famous stricture concerning schools and learning, printing and preaching, there is hardly a suggestion of anti-educationism in the whole volume. Rather the reverse is true: there is everywhere apparent the eagerness of the settler for advantages for his children, the concern of the ministry that their parishioners read and understand the Bible and the catechism, and the aspiration of the affluent planter that his sons be tutored for admission to college at home or in England.

The editor had a vast amount of material to choose from, and he has selected wisely. Some of it was readily accessible, but much of it came as the result of an arduous search. A sizable portion has never before appeared in print. The minutes of Dr. Bray's Associates, for example, were never published before; while countless excerpts from colonial newspapers are here reproduced for the first time. Incidentally, the University of North Carolina Press, so far as format and printing are concerned, reinforces the high level of scholarly presentation that characterizes Dr. Knight's editorial contribution.

College of William and Mary

JOHN E. POMFRET

PETER HARRISON, FIRST AMERICAN ARCHITECT. By *Carl Bridenbaugh*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. 1949. Pp. xvi, 195. \$6.50.)

INCREASINGLY in recent years, the evolution of architecture in America has attracted the attention of scholars trained in modern techniques of historical investigation. Kimball, Hamlin, Gallagher, Upjohn, Waterman, Foreman, Ravenel, Frary, Hitchcock, Coolidge, Newcomb, Kubler, and others have by their special studies organized the facts and given enlightened interpretation to specific periods, localities, and persons. There remain, however, tantalizing gaps to be filled before a definitive history of this important aspect of American culture can be written.

Mr. Bridenbaugh's biography of Peter Harrison is an especially welcome addition to these works. Although Harrison is unique in that all his buildings still stand, the details of his life lie dispersed in obscure documents. He is fortunate in finding a historian so well equipped, so meticulous, and so industrious, who could piece together such a convincing account of his development and achieve-

ments. Moreover, the author's minute knowledge of colonial Newport enables him to relate his subject intimately to the community and society in which Harrison flourished. Indeed this is the most admirable feature of the book.

Since this is the author's first essay in the field of architectural history, it is understandable that the treatment of the buildings themselves lacks something in depth. To the student of architecture it is a disappointment that none of Harrison's buildings is illustrated by plans (except one of the Wentworth house) or sections. Nor are any details of construction mentioned. Aesthetic analysis is confined to enumeration of the volumes from which Harrison culled motifs for his designs. The claim is made that Harrison suffused his work with a personal quality, but its character goes undefined. The author does not attempt to interpret the monuments themselves as to conception of volume or mass organization, either in contrast to the colonial baroque style or within the Burlingtonian academic reaction of which they were the colonial representatives. It is true that this fully balanced type of interpretation is still rare in American criticism, but if we are ever to discover and evaluate the essence of American creativeness, it is time to wrestle with such problems.

One striking suggestion is made in attributing to Harrison St. Michael's Church, built in 1751-61 in Charleston, South Carolina. The evidence given, however, is only permissive. It may be summarized as follows: that Harrison had visited Charleston on business in 1742 and 1747; that he had been entertained by Gabriel Manigault, one of the most influential citizens of the city; that Harrison's firm was active in Carolina trade; that a number of South Carolinians summered in Newport (although the earliest records begin in 1758); that they could have reported the classical charm of the Redwood Library which had just been completed; and that engravings of Harrison's plans for King's Chapel, then under way in Boston, probably found their way south. Although little stylistic comparison is attempted, the author notes that Harrison's design for King's Chapel showed a classical portico (but not built until 1785-87) and that St. Michael's likewise possesses one. Actually, the two porticoes are quite differently conceived and the similarity between St. Michael's portico and that of the Redwood Library makes a much more convincing argument. Nevertheless, Harrison's source, Hoppus' edition of Palladio, was just as available in the Carolinas as in Newport. The use of rustication on portions of St. Michael's is also too general a motif to give much support to the author's thesis, the proof of which still needs more solid evidence.

The question of three Rhode Island houses, often attributed to Harrison, is relegated to a single footnote. One wishes for a fuller examination of these structures. Regardless of these reservations, however, we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Bridenbaugh for his laborious gathering of scattered sources, his careful organization of them, and his eminently readable presentation. All those who love American architecture and the history of colonial culture will gain new insight through his work.

It remains to estimate Harrison's position in the architecture of the eighteenth century in America. One can share the author's sympathetic enthusiasm for Harrison as the designer of five excellent buildings that transported current English Palladianism to the colonies, but it is difficult to agree that he had enjoyed the training of a professional architect. Actually, he remained an amateur who observed attentively on his London visits the course of architectural fashions and by some skill in draftsmanship and a self-developed eclectic taste, nourished by a library of English publications unusual in the provinces, he furnished the brief drawings that set the pattern to guide the craftsmen in their tasks. To state that this did not cover the full services of a professional architect, even in the eighteenth century, is not to quibble.

The situation in England was that there were not enough trained professionals to meet the growing demand, and that the new Palladian fashion which placed such a premium on *correctness* exaggerated this shortage of personnel. For this reason, architectural publications delineating the new details found a ready market in the provinces both at home and abroad among those who enjoyed design as an avocation.

It is to Harrison's great credit that he combined his early training at sea, with its paraphernalia of charts, maps, and navigation which no doubt gave him practice in drawing, with his leisure observation of London buildings to produce designs that stood up most effectively in execution. He had little insight into construction and he was fortunate in dealing with problems that did not involve complex functional planning. The Newport Synagogue presented novel, but relatively simple, requirements. These circumstances left him free to concentrate his efforts on the solution of form and decoration, which, through the aid of books planned exactly for such use, he accomplished with intelligence and taste. Few if any of his fellow colonials had the inclination to deal with such matters or the opportunity of recurring visits to London. Harrison did, and in so doing, he won, as Mr. Bridenbaugh amply proves, a respected place in the annals of American architectural and cultural history.

University of Illinois

TURPIN C. BANNISTER

MEETING HOUSE AND COUNTING HOUSE: THE QUAKER MERCHANTS OF COLONIAL PHILADELPHIA, 1682-1763. By *Frederick B. Tolles*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. 1948. Pp. xiv, 292. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is a notable contribution to Quaker history. It is the story of the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania, of the way in which Quakers cultivated the two plantations, the inner and the outer. The main emphasis is inevitably on the outer plantation. Quaker principles are more or less taken for granted, and this volume explains in interesting detail how Friends in a sincerely religious society combined their religion with business, with politics, and with social and intellec-

tual life. It covers the period from the founding of the colony in 1682 until political and military problems became so acute in 1756 that Friends no longer felt free to participate in the government.

For three generations Pennsylvania was a Quaker state, and in this volume Professor Tolles gives us a clear picture of how it was run. The picture has the complexity and the reality which could come only from the use of original sources. The Holy Experiment was indeed an experiment. There were no precedents. Life in Philadelphia during these three generations was never simple. Politically the Quakers were frequently at loggerheads with the proprietor and with the crown, and in the early days with each other. The Quakers prospered economically, but there were not wanting Friends who saw the danger of too much prosperity. They held firmly to their religious principles, and disavowals were frequent, for reasons which would hardly seem valid to Quaker meetings today. What Professor Tolles points out, and what needs to be said, is that Quaker honesty and fair dealing were not the result of merely material ambitions but that the Quaker prosperity in Pennsylvania was a natural result of the prevailing Quaker way of life.

It was natural, but not inevitable. Not all Quakers went into business, and not all who did so grew rich. Perhaps Quakers in business were more than other Friends sensitive to the attractions of this world as opposed to the next, but the fact remains that they were sensitive also to the attractions of literature and science, that they were generous and solicitous about the poor, and that for the most part they put spiritual and intellectual values higher than economic success. It would be hard to say more of any group, and hard to say this of the Quakers, had Professor Tolles not given us chapter and verse for these statements.

In spite of all difficulties and disagreements, these Friends of the first generation of Quakerism built a Quaker civilization in Pennsylvania, not in monastic seclusion but working actively with other groups (who soon came to outnumber them), and in close economic and intellectual contact with the rest of the world.

The story of this great achievement Professor Tolles tells not for the most part in general terms but rather by giving concrete facts and personal illustrations for every point which he makes. It might be objected, and indeed the author admits this objection, that statistics are not available to show just how far the illustrations he gives were characteristic. Be that as it may, they are real.

The Holy Experiment ended in one sense in 1756, when leading Quakers withdrew from the government of Pennsylvania over differences with the proprietors (the heirs of William Penn, who had died in 1718), and over methods of dealing with the Indians. I think it a mistake on the basis of this book to say that the Holy Experiment failed. Quakerism is and always will be an experiment of this type. At times the question comes to every Quaker whether he should withdraw from the world, or be false to his Quaker principles. It is to be hoped that Professor Tolles will find time in the future to deal with other aspects of the Holy Experi-

ment in Pennsylvania, and with the broader subject of the philosophy of Quakerism. Professor Tolles' volume is not merely interesting for the history of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century; it is full of suggestions for Friends as to how they should meet the perplexing problems of the twentieth. The appendix contains an interesting discussion of the relation of Benjamin Franklin to the Quakers, and an excellent bibliographical essay.

Princeton, New Jersey

FRANK AYDELOTTE

THE ANIMATING PURSUITS OF SPECULATION: LAND TRAFFIC IN THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. By *Elgin Williams*, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Washington. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 547.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 230. \$3.25.)

THE main title of this book is adapted from a sentence in a half-facetious letter written by Sam Houston in 1835. The subtitle suggests intent to define time and place. Affirmatively, the author says the "book is a study of the attitudes of some prominent men of affairs . . . who were 'interested in' Texas lands during the period of annexation." He hopes that "the data presented will be of interest to students of general economic theory," and that they will contribute to an understanding of American business ethics a hundred years ago. Negatively, it does not pretend to be a history of the annexation of Texas, "nor even an 'economic interpretation' of that famous transaction." Thus it is not history. It is dressed in some of the garb of history, however—that is, there are many footnote citations referring to important collections of documents; there is an imposing historical bibliography; and the method and form of presentation are analogous to those of history writings; but even as a restricted study of attitudes there is little addition to factual knowledge that historians can use to advantage.

Historians know, for example, that the conception of land as an object of speculation and as a basis of government financing has been common to several periods of American history and to nearly all men, whether prominent and rich or obscure and poor. In other words, personal attitudes have been tolerant and practice, depending on opportunity, almost universal. The existence in the United States of companies which sold valueless scrip to be located on Texas land during the periods of colonization and annexation is well known, but there has been singularly little progress toward a comprehensive account of the organization and operation of these companies; and this book neither by purpose nor by welcome inadvertence helps to elucidate the subject. Individual attitudes, however, the avowed theme of the author, cannot be truly represented apart from the circumstances under which they are manifested, and here the reader has a right to expect more information than he receives. The book asserts and reiterates but never explains.

The *American Historical Review* could not appropriately allow space for extended discussion of the shortcomings of this book, but a few typical deficiencies must be noted: misuse of citations is frequent—some incomplete, some misconstrued, some inapplicable to the corresponding statements in the text. Reasonably alert editorial reading would have eliminated some confusion: for example, Joel R. Poinsett appears erroneously as Secretary of the Navy (p. 115) and elsewhere properly as Secretary of War. Lorenzo de Zavala is identified erroneously as “ambassador to the Court of St. James” (p. 32) and correctly as “minister to France” (p. 61). John T. Mason who is mentioned frequently throughout the book is incorrectly *James* T. Mason on page 31. Indifference to the obligation of strict accuracy may explain other defects: One speculator who bought large grants of land in Texas from the state did not vote for the sale in the legislature as asserted (p. 53); he was never a member of the legislature. Joel R. Poinsett is characterized as “land adventurer in Texas,” “interested in Texas properties,” “typical entrepreneur,” “one of the adventurers in Texas,” “speculative ambassador.” These terms appear to be based on cited authority, but not one reference shows specifically that Poinsett owned land in Texas. Pages 62 and 169 represent Poinsett as championing annexation in payment of a debt of gratitude to Zavala, then dead. Proof of this assumption is supposed to be found in J. Fred Rippy’s *Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American*, but examination of Rippy shows only that Poinsett, while minister to Mexico, once brought some prominent men and women to his home during a riot and gave them the protection of the American flag, and that Zavala, then governor of the Federal District of Mexico, ordered a troop of cavalry to the rescue. Sam Houston is said to have been a “corporation lawyer,” practicing law for a company claiming land in Texas, but the authority cited for this statement seems to indicate that he never completed the contract for such service, and a letter written by Houston in the source cited says, “I am not, nor have I ever been engaged by any land company . . . interested in Texas lands.” A final example illustrates more than one quality of the book: On page 198 the reader is told, “the largest landseller” “found it necessary . . . to take up arms against the squatters in East Texas.” Knowledge of the facts discloses that Stephen F. Austin, lieutenant colonel of militia, in obedience to superior military orders, once led a company of colonists to reinforce regular army soldiers in putting down an abortive revolt. The incidental aim of the military movement was to protect the squatters and after the revolt collapsed Austin exerted himself unsuccessfully to obtain titles for the squatters. The authority cited to support the misinterpretation is my own *Life of Stephen F. Austin*, chapter XI; but the correct story is told in chapter VII.

University of Texas

EUGENE C. BARKER

FLORIDA, LAND OF CHANGE. By Kathryn Abbey Hanna. (2d ed.; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 455. \$4.50.)

THE revision of this book has consisted for the most part of elaborating the recent history of Florida and thereby bringing the end of the story nearer the present. Certain inaccuracies noted by reviewers of the old edition (1941) have been corrected, and there are others which might well have been removed. McGillivray was not "Chief of the Creek Nation" in 1783 (p. 101); Bowles landed his cargo for the Creeks not at St. Marks in 1787 (p. 102) but on Indian River in 1788; Claiborne at the time of taking possession of the Baton Rouge district was governor not of Mississippi territory (p. 116) but of the territory of Orleans; the name Tallahassee means simply an abandoned town and in no dialect, Seminole or otherwise, could be translated as "chief town" or "sun town" (p. 159); and no archaeological expedition need ever look for the ruins of old Port Leon "at the confluence of the St. Marks and Wakulla rivers" (p. 188). These inaccuracies, however, are of very minuscule importance, to be noticed only by a reviewer and detracting not at all from the general scholarship and trustworthiness of the book.

For most readers the interest of the unfolding drama of Florida lies chiefly in the period of prelude when it was first a colony of Spain, then of Great Britain, and finally of Spain again. Uninfluenced by considerations for such things as fountains of youth and other romances, the author makes it clear that Spain valued Florida only because it flanked Mexico, and Great Britain secured it chiefly because the possession of it would eliminate border wars with Georgia; the United States acquired it in 1821 as the only practicable method of abating a nuisance. Along with Florida the United States received an intricate tangle of land titles thoughtfully provided by Spain, and a problem of Indian management tragically intensified by official ineptitude. The author's summary of the Seminole wars is admirable for its clarity and conciseness. The account here reveals that territorial Florida, like Spanish and British Florida, was northern Florida lying between St. Augustine and Pensacola and was composed of three fairly distinct and jarring sections. So fierce was their antagonism that an appreciable number of the Florida people preferred incorporation in Alabama and Georgia rather than sinking their sectionalism in statehood. This explains the fact that the first state constitution of Florida bears a date six years prior to the achieving of statehood (1845).

In the short fifteen years before the War between the States, Florida had time only to repudiate the debt incurred by the territorial legislature by lending its credit to banks, to annex the Fernandina-Cedar Keys, to add the Jacksonville-Tallahassee railroad lines to the puny and ambitious St. Marks road of territorial days, and to face the rising tide of secession. During the war, as the story here told reveals, Florida contributed to the Confederacy an unusual amount of loyalty, a large number of soldiers, and vast quantities of supplies: the last being partly home produced and partly imported by blockade runners—also home produced. The poverty of Florida after the war enabled it to escape excessive plundering by the carpetbaggers but also rendered it incapable when home rule was restored (1877) of financing any social or economic improvements until it sacrificed its

public lands in the Disston sale. Then came the promoters like Plank and Flagler (with "damyankee" funds) and by dint of their labors made the hitherto neglected peninsula blossom into an integral part of the state. The tourist followed, and the end is not yet.

Florida State University

R. S. COTTERILL

FRANCIS LIEBER, NINETEENTH CENTURY LIBERAL. By *Frank Freidel*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 445. \$4.50.)

"HISTORY is the memory of nations, oh! how many have been lost for want of this memory and on account of careless, guilty ignorance." Here is a key to the social philosophy of the passionate nationalist, Francis Lieber, as he epitomized it in 1835 in his inaugural address as professor of history and political economy at the University of South Carolina.

From a window of his Berlin home, weeping, heart-broken, eight-year-old Francis Lieber had watched Napoleon's troops strut down the streets of the capital of prostrate Prussia. As a lad of sixteen he was to have the satisfaction at Waterloo, under Blücher, of helping to administer the *coup de grâce* to the great imperialist's designs. But the "incurable romantic," young Francis Lieber, dabbling in the forbidden secret societies, was to have his dream of a free Germany frustrated by the Metternichean reaction and the persistent grilling of the secret police who denied him entrance to one university after another.

Rushing to Greece to fight in its war of independence Lieber was as promptly disillusioned as Byron, though unlike the poet he survived typhus-infested Missolonghi. Homeward bound, the impoverished young Lieber visited Rome and was taken under the wing of the Prussian ambassador, Barthold Niebuhr, whose protégé he became. The historian tempered the youth's conviction that time was out of joint with the profound observation that "the evil which prevails so widely could not be found among rulers unless it existed in the multitude; that change of the form [of government] can bring no deliverance unless the individual can first be improved."

Somehow, bit by bit, between imprisonment and persecution by the secret police, Lieber got a university education. However, in 1826 as another grilling by the police impended, he fled to England. There he was presently the intimate of Grote, Brougham, Bentham, and J. S. Mill. The following year a Boston gymnasium association engaged him as an instructor in physical education. The New England intelligentsia adopted the immigrant and in half a dozen years "the august Brahmins had claimed him as one of their own." Within a year of his arrival in America his fertile imagination had conceived a grand project as a consequence of which he became editor of the first American encyclopedia, *The Americana*, which brought him into contact with almost every notable contemporary American intellectual and public man and indeed made him in time the outstanding publicist of the United States.

Ironically enough this inveterate nationalist got marooned for twenty-one interminable years in the nullification and secessionist atmosphere of the University of South Carolina while he sought in vain a northern professorship. Relief came in 1857 when he was called to Columbia College (now university). Active in the Union cause, his crowning achievement was the authorship of Lincoln's General Order Number 100, "Instructions for the Government of Armies in the Field," which became in time a permanent contribution to international law.

No closet philosopher was Lieber; before the Civil War he rationalized Whig party ideology no less than Radical Republican policies after the war. Indeed this rampant exponent of laissez faire economics fraternized with the millionaires of the Gilded Age as readily though not quite so naively as President Grant.

Lieber's versatility is seen in his intense interest in prison reform, his use of newspapers in teaching, and his making perhaps the earliest statistical studies of voting habits. No sense of inferiority frustrated this genius, who claimed to have introduced half a dozen or more new words into common usage and who had no doubt that his political writings placed him with More, Hobbes, Grotius, Pufendorf, and Montesquieu. His *Civil Liberty* and *Political Ethics* are notable studies in political philosophy, stressing as they do concepts of nationality, laissez faire, and limited government.

Professor Freidel has given us an exceptionally adequate biography. No stone has been left unturned, the research has been prodigious, and every fact is meticulously documented. The historical background is given without a slip, unless it is the apparent implication that President Taylor's death imperiled passage of the Compromise of 1850 instead of making it possible. Only a competent student of political science could have given so satisfactory an interpretation of the first outstanding American scholar in that field.

Ohio Northern University

WILFRED E. BINKLEY

JOHN C. CALHOUN, NULLIFIER, 1829-1839. By *Charles M. Wiltse*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1949. Pp. 511. \$6.00.)

THIS is one of those rare instances in which the laudatory claims of the dust-jacket blurb are fully warranted; in full truth, others might have been added. This second volume more than lives up to the fine promise of the first; and though a third is still to come, the author may even now take pride in his magnum opus; it is indeed a great work. Thorough and profound scholarship is attested not merely by the footnotes and bibliography but by almost every page of text. Along with remarkably broad knowledge of the period and a disciplined intelligence in analysis and organization of details, there is a discriminating taste and unusual ability in fine writing that is truly dramatic when presenting real drama.

To many scholars and to most students Calhoun has been a mystery as a man, a trickster as a politician, and a traitor (or at best an enigma) as a statesman—be-

cause so many accounts have been based primarily upon statements of his political enemies. Here at last is the real Calhoun: an attractive personality to those who really knew him; an understanding, loving, and lovable husband, father, and grandfather; an intelligent student of land usage and farm management; a man of great strength of character of the right sort; an able and trustworthy politician; a far-seeing and deeply analytical statesman; and the degree of his honesty of intellect and purpose, his consistency and steadfastness of principles, and his great abilities of thought and expression by tongue or pen, when compared with those of his contemporary leaders (presented as vividly as is Calhoun, though at lesser length), show him to have been quite likely the greatest of them all. The tragedy of his career, historically, came from being identified with what later was to be known as "the lost cause." If his most unusual talents and abilities in so many fields of thought could have been devoted to, and identified with, the North or the West, how different might have been his place in history! But one of the great achievements of the author is to make thoroughly understandable Calhoun the leader and spokesman of the South.

The author is not a blind hero-worshiper: right or wrong, my hero! He has not written an apologia. He keeps everything in its historical setting; he does not write as a modern professional liberal or the reactionary counterpart thereof; he passes judgments with true historical perspective and not as a propagandist reading back into that period modern concepts that were not there. On Calhoun the Nullifier this work is the best that has been done. But the volume presents much more because in these years Calhoun's thinking, pronouncements, and actions ran the gamut of what has been called many times and variously the period, era, or age of Andrew Jackson; some such subtitle might well have been used because as such it is the best volume that has appeared. Every student of the period knows the complexities and difficulties of understanding and presenting clearly the personalities and characters of the leaders, the numerous agricultural, manufacturing, transportation, commercial, financial, social, political, and constitutional problems with their interlocking ramifications. In this volume all these are presented in a manner that is crystal clear without reducing them to simple formulas that are distortions and hence simply untrue. The periodic introductory and summarizing paragraphs are gems of thinking and phrasing—never the unctuous elaboration of the obvious. To give illustrations of the generalizations stated above with page citations would exceed the reasonable limit of space allotted.

Knox College

C. S. BOUCHER

FETTERED FREEDOM: CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY, 1830-1860. By *Russel B. Nye*. (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 273. \$4.00.)

CONSIDERING the obvious importance of antislavery, and its abolitionist com-

ponent, it is remarkable how little it has been exploited by trained modern scholars. Probably the most influential work of the time has been done by Professor Dwight L. Dumond and the late Professor Gilbert H. Barnes. Professor Alice F. Tyler produced a considerable work about the "ultras," but these were scarcely alone in the antislavery crusade. Add a number of unpublished theses, and a few published monographs, for the most part of limited scope, and all has been said.

There is need for a modern perspective on the dense and complicated problem of antislavery, and this could be aided by a variety of studies dealing with specific aspects of antislavery, as well as with many-sided and informed biographies of figures like Weld, William Jay, Henry C. Wright, the Tappans, Wendell Phillips, and Garrison. As matters now stand, those who plow even limited areas of the field find themselves forced to rely heavily upon original materials for all phases of their work. Professor Nye's excellent and well-documented monograph illustrates the method and the valuable results which may be obtained thereby.

His theme is "the reactions of the American people, during one central period and on one specific issue, to the civil liberties tradition" (p. v). Following a cogent chapter on the background of the slavery and abolition problem, he considers the fight for the right of petition and the use of the mails, the fight for academic freedom and freedom of the press, the "reign of mob law," the constitutional issue and natural rights, the controversy over fugitive slaves, and what he terms the great slave power conspiracy. He concludes that the abolition crusade succeeded because it "managed to merge antislavery with civil liberties" (p. 250).

His emphasis is almost entirely on the topics noted above, but several other conclusions would appear implicit in his discussion. Apparently he would agree with Professor Barnes's belief, as recorded in *The Anti-slavery Impulse*, that the most intense phase of the abolitionist struggle took place during the 1830's, after which the issue became politicalized, and, so far as civil liberties were concerned, established in the North. (Professor Nye also takes due note of Southern views of the major issues, and the manner in which they diverged from ideals of government above the Mason-Dixon line.)

The question of how "politicalized" antislavery issues became, however, continues to be moot, and to raise other questions which have modern pertinence, as, presumably, Professor Nye thinks civil liberties do. How important were the abolitionists in the 1840's and 1850's? Who, of the abolitionists, could be considered consequential in those decades, or, indeed, in the 1830's proper? For, of course, the "antislavery concert" was not entirely harmonious even in that decade. And by what standards can one rate any abolitionist above another, either in terms of program or individual achievement?

Professor Barnes's answer was that Garrison, for example, was a liability to the antislavery crusade, and that it was a western wing of evangelical abolitionism which produced the best and most influential crusaders. Professor Nye does not concern himself, for the most part, with comparative estimates of antislavery

workers, nor can such estimates be made without weighing the contributions of typical abolitionists, and, before that, the elements which made up their programs. For example, Elijah P. Lovejoy, the very symbol of free speech and its relation to abolitionism, happens to have been a bigot with respect to "Popery," which he blamed for slavery, among other sins. Certain "come-outers," like Parker Pillsbury, came to prefer Catholicism, which officially repudiated slavery, to creeds which they had disowned. John Rankin wrote harshly about the theological convictions of other Protestant spokesmen and sects; and, indeed, harsh controversy about religious questions is almost a characteristic of the antislavery crusade. The precise relationship between religious convictions and antislavery is not settled by noting "the antislavery impulse" which it engendered among some workers in the field. One scholar, in an unpublished thesis, has concluded that the intolerance and superstition which derived from religious hysteria more than counterbalanced the reformist and abolitionist actions which it called forth. This conclusion can be debated, but it cannot be ignored.

Liberalism, reform, abolitionism—such words need thoughtful examination in the antislavery context. Professor Dumond, for example, believes, evidently, that the connotation of abolitionism ought to be extended to include Lincoln. (See his *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War*, p. 100.) Others would dispute this interpretation; and the issue obviously bears upon the relationship between politics and abolition. Evaluations of figures of the time other than Lincoln would be similarly to the point. Such evaluations, incidentally, would aid us in weighing the import of statements in their countless pamphlets, books, speeches, and reports which furnish footnotes for the scholar. I would suggest, for instance, that Lysander Spooner, whom Professor Nye cites in passing on the constitutional question, was an odd character whose ideas take on unexpected implications when seen as part of the development of his thought and activities.

Professor Nye is to be thanked for a valuable investigation into the role and content of antislavery, and for a thesis which those interested in its civil liberties phase will find stimulating and suggestive. It is to be hoped that other studies on aspects of the antislavery question will be made available which will further a revaluation of its national significance independent of partisan viewpoints expressed in primary and secondary sources.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

GUNS ON THE WESTERN WATERS: THE STORY OF RIVER GUNBOATS IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *H. Allen Gosnell*, Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R. (Ret.). (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 273. \$6.50.)

MR. Gosnell has given an engineer's touch to one of the unique and colorful naval phases of the Civil War. While he is primarily interested in the operations

of the gunboat flotillas of Rodgers, Foote, Walke, and Porter, and the extent to which they contributed to the early and continued successes of the Union forces in the west, he also concerns himself more than does any other contemporary historian with the engines, hulls, peculiar naval architecture, and armaments of the fighting vessels themselves.

Actually these river gunboats were more like floating batteries than ships. Moreover, their use in giving highly effective, heavy artillery support to ground troops reveals their operations as having more in common with the functioning of modern, highly mobile field artillery than any past or present concept of naval engagements. The few times Confederates were able to confront them with armed river craft the results were raids and duels rather than squadron engagements.

Mr. Gosnell's narrative technique has a sort of case-history approach. He often sets up the general background of the strategic and tactical situation. Out of this he draws upon one or two sources, often quoting at great length, to present in detail the activities, achievements, and colorful events incident to the operations of a single vessel. The results, from a historical viewpoint, are far more satisfactory than one has a reasonable right to expect. It certainly gives zest and interest to these most unusual men-of-war, and to the often equally unconventional sailors and men who took them into action.

The sources used by Mr. Gosnell are fully indicated in the text. There is no bibliography. There is no index. The author's organization and handling of materials are such that one does not seriously miss them.

State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin

JIM DAN HILL

PEPPERELL'S PROGRESS: HISTORY OF A COTTON TEXTILE COMPANY, 1844-1945. By *Evelyn H. Knowlton*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, XIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xxix, 511. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is a story of success, undramatic but unbroken for a hundred years. To the author the "great challenge" has been to determine why Pepperell Manufacturing Company, organized by a few Yankees in Biddeford, Maine, "grew in strength through the years when others faded or were absorbed by rivals." She finds the explanation not in the influence of "water power, cheap transportation, labor supply and market," which the economic historian would stress. As a business historian, she goes "beyond these, regarding them as passive, inert matters in themselves." The conspicuous success of the company she would attribute to "the policy-formulation and the operation, the administration and the management," which "transcended the passive factors and made choices between them."

Mrs. Knowlton divides the history of Pepperell into three periods: "The Early Years, 1844-1870"; "Maturity, 1870-1924"; and "Rejuvenation, 1924-1945." As

a result of "the good business practices and balanced attitudes" of mercantile capitalists, the enterprise got off to a good start. The executives procured capital from individuals and institutions bound to them "by family and business ties." The middle period witnessed growth through consolidation with the Laconia Company. The third era was characterized by growth which brought with it diversification. Sheetings and blankets were produced at Biddeford, various types of goods in Lowell, fine cottons and rayons in Fall River. Bleaching, dyeing, and finishing were done in Lewiston. The company bought one mill in the South and built a new one in the same region. In these were turned out chambrays and industrial fabrics.

The author has read widely in the original records of the company and in other sources. She has produced a volume which Professor Gras, in his introduction, aptly describes as "the historian's type of history." This is both a high compliment and a possible criticism. The careful student of business history will be glad the author has stuck so closely to her last. The one with a more general historical interest may regret her failure to relate the Pepperell Company more closely to the larger textile manufacture.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

FLIGHT INTO HISTORY: THE WRIGHT BROTHERS AND THE AIR AGE. By *Elsbeth E. Freudenthal*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 268. \$3.75.)

THE most illuminating remark in the book appears on the jacket: "Strange to say, despite her interest in the history of aviation, she [the author] does not like to fly." Nor does she have an understanding of the art of flying, nor of the romance of aviation, nor of the adventure of invention. Elsbeth Freudenthal interviewed everybody, read everything, consulted many records, picked up gossip everywhere. Her dates and facts are right, there is much hitherto unpublished detail in the book, presented in a dull, pedestrian style. If the reader's purpose is to find out what small differences of opinion the Wright brothers had with Chanute, what lawsuits they carried on, what pettiness they had in their great souls, then this is the book for him. Because Wenham mentioned the biplane in a famous paper dated around 1860, the Wrights stole this idea from him apparently. The Wright brothers, the author says in effect, wanted some reward for their invention so they were mercenary. Chanute was much nobler: he had not even hoped to make money from the sale of his book. The Wrights rather disliked and were suspicious of newspapermen. They did not publish the results of their wind-tunnel work, therefore these results were of little value. Not a word about the really remarkable synthesis sequence of wide reading, scientific research, practical experiments, careful design, meticulous preparation, remarkable engineering, crowned by success on the very first attempt. Not a sign of understanding of what the

Wright brothers really achieved. Miss Freudenthal simply should not have written the book.

Yet the book is an addition to aeronautical archives. The illustrations, badly reproduced, are well selected as a memory of the early days, including as they do photographs of Chanute, the Chanute Glider, Wilbur Wright in glider, Langley, Santos Dumont, Glenn H. Curtiss, Farman's biplane. The list of contents is excellent, the chapters are aptly named: "Two Bicycle Makers," "First Active Experiments," "Nearing the Goal," "December 17, 1903—Climax and Beginning," "From Kitty Hawk to Paris," etc. The footnotes, numerous and important, constitute a fine bibliography. The dry skeleton of the inventors' lives is there, who were the members of their family, how they as schoolboys published papers, their bicycle shop, when they became interested in flying, how they managed to keep their shop going while experimenting, their first success, their travels in Europe. There are a few good quotations from their own writings, from those of Zahm, Brewer, and others. There is an honest attempt, but attempt only, at understanding the complex personalities of the two men. There are many and accurate data. Many squabbles are laid bare. This is the best that can be said about *Flight into History*. A book about the Wright brothers remains to be written, and the writer will save himself much drudgery by using Miss Freudenthal's book freely for dates and other references.

Greenwich, Connecticut

ALEXANDER KLEMIN

THE GREAT PIERPONT MORGAN. By *Frederick Lewis Allen*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pp. x, 306. \$3.50.)

J. PIERPONT Morgan was one of the great world figures of his day, yet thirty-six years after his death a 282-page essay by historian-journalist Frederick Allen represents the only scholarly, well-balanced interpretation of his career. This paradox arises from the fact that while many of his lesser contemporaries in both business and politics left voluminous collections of letters open to scholars, the Morgan material available even to so reliable an investigator as Mr. Allen is pitifully small and inadequate. Firm and family traditions of secrecy, fostered by J. Pierpont Morgan himself, apparently have made it impossible to discover whether sources exist for a detailed biography.

Most of the features that inspire criticism in Mr. Allen's book stem from this lack of a connected personal record of Morgan's career. It makes the book a series of episodes rather than an account of continuing activities, and it deprives Mr. Allen of important fresh evidence for his thoughtful interpretations. The fact that a paucity of immediate records permitted rapid work may also be responsible for some carelessness regarding external details. Mr. Allen has, in general, based his explanations of events on autobiographies and biographies such as Herbert L. Satterlee's *J. Pierpont Morgan, An Intimate Portrait*, textbooks on

American history, or the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. Such sources do not always report events fully or place them in a sufficiently broad setting. The resulting limitations affect some of his interpretations. Morgan's upper middle-class origin, for example, did not make him exceptional among American business leaders of the period 1900 to 1913. The "Corsair agreement" of 1885 was a less important step in the development of co-operation among the eastern trunk lines than the reader is led to believe. The discussion of the currency problem (pp. 99-100) misses the key point of the convertibility of the silver certificates to gold. The character of Mr. Allen's sources may also be responsible for his failure to present a fuller picture of American investment banking and Morgan's important contributions to its development.

Ably separating apparent fact from repeated myth, Mr. Allen has judiciously reinterpreted the major episodes in the Morgan career. He appreciates the world in which the financier lived and the extent to which Morgan's convictions were a reflection of the society that also produced Clarence Day's father. Morgan emerges from this treatment less a secretive Napoleonic potentate and more a normal Wall Street man with international banking connections. But in making him a more understandable human being Mr. Allen does not minimize the tremendous force of the Morgan presence, perhaps the key to his leadership.

The historian interested in the social sciences, however, will find that the author uses no recognizable system or theory in his analysis of Morgan's career and personality. All schools of psychology, including those of the church, would agree on the vital role of early environment, yet Mr. Allen says, "I have inspected *some* of Morgan's boyhood diaries at the Morgan Library . . ." (p. 286, my italics). Perhaps Mr. Allen means he was denied access to others, but, in any case, few inferences concerning character are drawn from the relatively rich store of early Morganiana. Similarly, while the essay is basically a study in the building and use of power this theme is not stressed. In a list (p. 185) of "What set him apart from all others," power is not even mentioned.

I hope that Mr. Allen's objective account, brightly executed from the literary standpoint, will stand as an inspiration to further study of the role of J. Pierpont Morgan in American society and that it will lead some patient historians to pursue the Morgan family, friends, companies, and business associates for additional material. Morgan letters and letters discussing him exist in many railroad offices or archives, and doubtless in those of banks and other firms. While we know that some of his most important correspondence was destroyed, it is not certain that all of his letter books or those of his close associates met a like fate. Surely the Morgan record during his years of great influence deserves as careful examination as that of any of the contemporary Presidents of the United States, yet so far the contrast in the attention given by historians in the two cases has been grotesque.

New York University

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

ROOSEVELT AND HOPKINS: AN INTIMATE HISTORY. By *Robert E. Sherwood*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1948. Pp. xvii, 979. \$6.00.)

THE months which have elapsed since the publication of this remarkable book give some opportunity to judge its actual value, both as history and as the biography of one of the most astonishing figures of our time. Magazine serialization has long since ended. Much of the excitement of possible revelation and sensation has died down. Mr. Sherwood's book now stands on its own. And its position is on a very high pinnacle indeed.

In no other war has such a flood of books followed the termination of hostilities. The final appraisal of this life and times of Harry L. Hopkins must await, as Mr. Sherwood would surely agree, the remaining volumes from the eloquent pen of Winston Churchill, the further accounts of American naval participation by Samuel Eliot Morison and the almost innumerable publications of the Department of the Army's historical branch. All these, other books as yet unknown and further examination of the papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt—not to mention appraisal of enemy sources—will determine the final judgments of World War II. But at this stage it is safe to state categorically that Mr. Sherwood's book tells more, and tells it better, more honestly and more vividly, than any other single book on this most terrible of wars.

From the viewpoint of the historian, it may be noted, the fact that *Roosevelt and Hopkins* was written at all raises interesting and provocative questions. The authorities in Washington insist that they are rapidly lifting security restrictions on the documents of the war. No doubt a good deal has been done toward that end. But this reviewer was informed, in the very recent past, that top secret and secret classifications still applied to information which reflected discredit on high-ranking military leaders. And I am willing to wager that a request for all the records of the Battle of the Bulge would still be met, in the Pentagon, with a cold and icy stare.

The point of interest in Mr. Sherwood's book is that the author, a civilian, was able to bypass all such restrictions through the fact of having access to Mr. Hopkins' papers. To say that these were private papers is perfectly silly, of course. Most of them were official documents which Hopkins obtained because of his official positions in the government. Carefully guarded in the Pentagon, for instance, are the minutes of the vital conferences at Washington, Quebec, Cairo, Teheran, and Yalta, where the decisions which were to decide the life or death of freedom were made. Unless I am greatly mistaken these large volumes are yet unavailable to scholars.

Subject to Mr. Sherwood's denial I remain certain that he used these documents or, at the least, copious extracts from them. On page 783 of *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, for instance, the author describes a conversation between Marshal Voroshilov and Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall on the difficulties of the forthcoming Normandy invasion. The American commander had remarked

that the military operation of crossing a river, however wide, was merely a failure if things went wrong. But the failure of a landing operation was a catastrophe.

"My military education and experience in the First World War," the American chief of staff is further quoted by Mr. Sherwood, "has all been based on roads, rivers and railroads. During the last two years, however, I have been acquiring an education based on oceans and I've had to learn all over again."

"If you think about it, you will do it," said Voroshilov.

The point I am trying to make, of course, is that this is an exact quotation from sources supposed to be under military suppression. Every historian will be delighted that Mr. Sherwood, in this respect and in many others, has blazed a trail which may make future access at the Pentagon less difficult. *Roosevelt and Hopkins* does far more than throw a great deal of light on the character and contributions of Harry Hopkins. It spotlights the failures and the triumphs of our forces all over the world. The book adds immeasurably, because it is honest, to our knowledge of Franklin Roosevelt.

And it suggests questions over which our military historians will doubtless wrangle for decades to come. Why, for instance, was so little done about preparing for amphibious warfare, the only kind of struggle possible if World War II involved the United States? Why was so able an officer as General Marshall still worried, as the quotation given by Mr. Sherwood would indicate, over crossing oceans as late as 1943? Why, generally speaking, were the conclusions drawn up by our intelligence services so appallingly bad? Their inadequacies led to the obnoxious Darlan Deal, which Professor William L. Langer of Harvard has labored to defend, and to the disastrous appointment of Marcel Peyrouton shortly afterwards.

This is a big book, not merely in its 979 closely packed pages. The reviewer cannot possibly do justice to all the implications therein—to the light cast on the faults and virtues of Roosevelt, to the pettiness to which Cordell Hull sometimes succumbed, to the color and breadth given to Winston Churchill and to many, many others among the great, the near-great, and the small of World War II. But it is fundamentally a book about Harry Hopkins. Sherwood says that he formed a friendship with Hopkins "which must color everything I write and for which no apologies are offered." Yet he does not shrink from his hero's failings.

They marked his personal life, his inability to make financial ends meet. But he had many great qualities. Hopkins had faith in the British when few had faith. He believed that the Russian armies would hold out when it was the accepted conviction, particularly on the part of G-2, that Hitler would crush the Soviet forces. Throughout most of the war he was ill almost to the point of death. But he went everywhere, in his unquestioned devotion to the President, and he gave his life to his country as surely as any soldier or sailor. His value to Roosevelt lay, perhaps, most deeply in an uncanny ability to state things clearly, to boil subjects down to their marrow of importance.

Sherwood quotes a conversation between Hopkins and the British prime minister. Churchill jokingly asked Roosevelt's emissary what noble title he ultimately wanted from his majesty's government. Hopkins said that membership in the House of Lords was the thing he wanted least. But Churchill continued: "We have already selected the title," he said. "You are to be named 'Lord Root of the Matter.'"

Washington, D. C.

HENRY F. PRINGLE

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER. By *Samuel A. Stauffer, et al.* Volume I, ADJUSTMENT DURING ARMY LIFE. Volume II, COMBAT AND ITS AFTERMATH. [Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, prepared and edited under the auspices of a Special Committee of the Social Science Research Council.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 599; 675. \$7.50 each, \$13.50 both vols.)

ONE of the questions which humanity constantly puts to itself is, why do men think and act as they do? What are the social and psychological factors which affect personal adjustments; what is the effect of education, marital status, and age on such adjustment; what type of leadership do men respond favorably to; what values and beliefs play a part in men's thinking and acting? To answer these and many like questions, one of the largest social science research projects in history had its beginning during the war just finished. These volumes, the first in a series of four, present a partial picture of findings from the mine of data compiled by the Research Branch, Information and Education Division of the Army.

Frederick H. Osborn, formerly major general of the General Staff Corps and wartime director of the Information and Education Division, saw in this unique activity in the annals of warfare a primary and immediate value to the military and a general and more important significance for humanity as a whole. The volumes reviewed amply verify General Osborn's viewpoint, for in applying the scientific approach to human problems of citizen soldiers is found the key for improvement of all human relationships.

The authors recognize clearly the limitations of the data presented in that, of necessity, only an *ad hoc* study of problems for immediate military utilization could be made. In all probability, taken as a whole, findings represent the largest storehouse of data ever collected from a group of men in a specific environmental situation. The authors freely admit that only a fraction of this data is presented and that there is no attempt to organize around a central theme. What is offered is a wealth of facts and ideas in readable form, with statistical tables which supplement verbal descriptions and provide a useful short cut to an understanding of the half million men included in the sampling.

As to specific content, Volume I contains a penetrating analysis of how young American men in uniform think. Indisputable evidence is set forth that combat

performance is directly related to attitudes. One is immediately aware that the "new Army" is of a higher educational level and very specialized as to function. It is also evident that while the better educated man is the more critical of traditional military practices, his attitudes and personal commitments to war are more favorable than the noneducated. Implication is clear that, for effective defense of a country, values and beliefs are necessary. It should be pointed out that measurements and data were not of the combat soldier alone but rather a cross section of the American people. In that personal judgment was varied by type of experience, a corrective is provided for the lay public, which too often measures the Army in terms of the "G.I." as represented in popular writing and cartoons. The broad conclusion to be drawn from this first volume is that there is a general need for adaptation of a sound personnel policy to the needs of technological warfare.

Volume II is composed of data gathered principally from combat troops, both ground and air. These data, in the majority of instances, are suggestive only and not final. Taken together, however, the results of research may permit of the tentative generalization that transitions from one phase of Army service to another are marked by an increase in the intensity of psychological symptoms. The findings presented in Volume I show that attitudes toward combat are definitely related to subsequent behavior in combat. The sharpest reaction—the negation of moral precepts of peacetime society—was also in combat. Officers and men alike attached generally little importance to idealistic motives. Action was influenced in the main by coercive power, where masculinity became of prime importance. Volume I began with the soldier at the induction station. Volume II follows his attitudes through combat to the aftermath of hostilities, when the soldier again becomes a citizen and the affecting factor becomes concern for a personal future in a peacetime society.

United States Armed Forces Institute

GLENN L. MCCONAGHA

THE SPANISH STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA. By *Lewis Hanke*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xi, 217. \$3.50.)

SINCE the turn of the present century a revision of traditional concepts concerning Spain in America has been under way. Among North American historians particularly there has been a gradual breaking down of political and religious prejudices harking back to Elizabethan days, and this trend, aided by a more systematic searching of archives and the use of much new documentation, is developing a fairer and more objective appraisal of Spanish achievements in the New World. Conspicuous among the present generation of scholars engaged in this historical re-evaluation is the author of the work under review who, during the past two decades, has produced a significant series of monographs, documentary studies, and articles dealing with the social, legal, and philosophic aspects of the sixteenth

century conquest of America by the Spaniards. This latest contribution, which was awarded the Beveridge prize, is in the nature of a synthesis or, perhaps, a distillation of his researches and delvings in Spanish and Spanish American repositories.

More than any other colonizing nation of Europe, Spain was constrained by an ethical concept in its exploitation of conquered peoples. During its period of imperial splendor the question of good and evil was still paramount in Western civilization and Spanish political and intellectual leaders sought to reconcile a belief that "all the peoples of the world are men" with the economic claims of imperialistic dominion. Dr. Hanke, after clearly announcing in an introduction his purpose to describe this remarkable struggle for justice, arranges his narrative in three parts entitled: "The First Cry for Justice in America," "Spanish Experiments in America," and "The Development of the Struggle for Justice, 1550-1600." Beginning with the famous sermons of Friar Montesinos on the island of Hispaniola in 1511 which touched off a century-long controversy over the treatment of the New World inhabitants, the first measures of the disturbed royal conscience are recounted. These took form in the so-called "Laws of Burgos" and a peculiar manifestation of self-deceit known as the "Requirement"—an attempt to get around the ticklish question of the "just" war by reading a document to the natives before subjecting them by armed might.

Of especial interest is the second section with its detailed description of the great debate over the Spanish right of conquest and the extraordinary social experiments undertaken to ascertain whether the Indians could be made without force to live like Christian Spaniards. The storm center of this controversy was the great Dominican, Father Las Casas, whose doctrines and writings, failures and successes inevitably dominate the record of this great struggle for human justice which did not end with his death in 1566. As Dr. Hanke points out, the ideas of nonviolence expounded by this "Apostle of the Indians" retained much vigor long after his passing. To demonstrate how really strong they remained it might have been worth while, despite the chronological limit of this study, to include a brief account of the application of Las Casas' theories in the centuries-long contest with the Araucanian Indians of southern Chile. There the Jesuits under Father Luis de Valdivia endeavored, from about 1612 to about 1621 and with the full support of Philip III, to bring into reality a peaceful settlement of the conflict by methods reminiscent of those practiced seventy to eighty years before by Las Casas in the Vera Paz experiment in Guatemala.

The greatest triumph of Las Casas was doubtless the promulgation in 1542 of the New Laws for the treatment of the Indians, and it was about this time that his most notorious work, the *Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* appeared. Save for the exaggeration in numbers Dr. Hanke is inclined to accept as basically authentic this harrowing recital of Spanish cruelty in the New World which jealous European rivals quickly pounced upon to justify their own aggres-

sive activities in America. It would seem worth while, therefore, to have included more comments on the spirit of inhumanity universal throughout contemporary Europe and thus make it clear that Spain was not unique in this respect. If in retrospect other nations appear less brutal in their subsequent contacts with New World peoples, it was largely because their opportunities for exploitation in that age were considerably less.

But in the matter of the New Laws Las Casas' triumph was brief, for this clear threat to property rights inherent in the *encomiendas* evoked promptly so violent a reaction in the Indies that Charles V quickly revoked its important provisions. One wonders whether this monarch's retreat was not influenced, also, by events elsewhere in Europe and whether the increasing intrusions of foreigners in his overseas empire did not make the feudalism implicit in the *encomienda* system seem to him a more reliable defense of his distant realms.

The last section of this stimulating study ably recounts the continuance of the conflict between idealism and materialism in the treatment of natives in Mexico, Peru, and the far-off Philippines during the remainder of the sixteenth century, and particularly interesting are the chapters concerning Bishop Salazar in Manila and Viceroy Toledo in Peru. In summarizing Dr. Hanke affirms that "No European nation however, with the possible exception of Portugal, took her Christian duty toward native peoples so seriously as did Spain," and again, "It is to Spain's everlasting credit that she allowed men to insist that all her actions in America be just, and that at times she listened to these voices." All students of the history of the westward expansion of Europe—not merely those interested in Spain—should ponder upon these statements and acquaint themselves with the convincing demonstration of them set forth in this admirably documented and eminently readable book.

University of Michigan

IRVING A. LEONARD

THE MINING GUILD OF NEW SPAIN AND ITS TRIBUNAL GENERAL
1770-1821. By *Walter Howe*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LVI.]
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 534. \$7.50.)

This monograph is the first full-length treatment of the Mexican mining industry in the late colonial period to appear in any language, and a long-needed continuation of Gamboa's *Comentarios a las Ordenanzas de Minas*, published in 1761. The author has based his study almost entirely on unpublished manuscript material in the archives of Mexico City and Seville.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the mining industry in Mexico was languishing to the point where operations had ceased in important centers. In 1771 the visitor-general to New Spain, José de Gálves, brought the state of the industry to the attention of the crown and suggested that the industry organize itself on a representative basis. The suggestion was approved, a junta was summoned, and

two native leaders of the mining community, Juan Lucas de Lassaga and Velásquez de León, proceeded to organize the *Cuerpo de Minería* under the Juntas General, legislating for the industry, and a Tribunal General, serving as an administrative board and as a court of appeals in mining litigation.

The history of the guild is largely the history of the tribunal. With a wealth of scholarship, Professor Howe discusses the major contributions of this body under the directorship of the distinguished *Gachupín*, Fausto de Elhuyar. It drew up a new mining code applying not only to Mexico but to most of the Spanish colonial world as well and serving as a basis of mining law in Mexico until the administration of Díaz. It established a school of mines which trained engineers for all Spanish America and which continues today as the engineering school of the University of Mexico. Howe stresses the indebtedness of the guild to the intelligent and liberal interest of Charles III. The crown granted the tribunal unprecedented autonomy, repeatedly affirmed its jurisdiction, and protected it from vice-royal interference. In the author's judgment, "it is really the Spanish Government that emerges with most credit" in the history of the guild; it is equally true that the homeland exaction of gifts and loans depleted the resources of the tribunal, and finally brought it to the verge of bankruptcy.

The *Cuerpo de Minería* failed in its primary aim to promote the prosperity of the industry. Miners were unprepared to realize the full values of the representative principle. In this respect the history of the guild foreshadowed the early political history of the Mexican Republic. Yet the failure was not unmitigated, and no less a seasoned observer than Baron von Humboldt lauded the role played by the guild in maintaining the public spirit in a country where common interests had usually failed of recognition. The author comes to a similar conclusion.

While the study suffers somewhat from the narrowness of monographic treatment in failing fully to trace the relations of the mining industry to social structure and general economy, it is an impressive contribution to the institutional history of Mexico. Appendixes feature Elhuyar's report on the industry at the outset of his career as director and his plan of the school of mines.

Queens College

C. H. VAN DUZER

SIMON BOLIVAR. By *Gerhard Masur*. [School of Inter-American Affairs, University of New Mexico, Inter-Americana Studies, IV.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 737. \$6.50.)

SURPRISE has often been expressed that Simón Bolívar, one of the most remarkable individuals in modern history, should be without a definitive, full-length biography. The number of books, both narrative and commentary, devoted to the life and thought of the Liberator, is legion. An exhaustive bibliography would fill a large volume. Naturally most of this literary and scholarly energy has come out of the Bolivarian republics, especially Colombia and Venezuela. In the latter

country the cult of its favorite son is almost a national religion. But distinguished European writers, such as Marius André and Emil Ludwig, have also been captivated by the dramatic, many-faceted career of Bolívar, and a few more or less superficial "lives" have been composed by writers of English heritage. The subject is indeed a fascinating one, and few students of Latin-American history have not at one time or another been drawn to it.

The principal deterrent, perhaps, to the formulation of a comprehensive and critical history of the Liberator has been the enormous amount of source material that must be mastered, in contemporary letters, memoirs, and state documents, both in print and in manuscript. The letters alone of Bolívar, collected in a definitive edition by the greatest of living Bolivarian scholars, Vicente Lecuna, fill eleven volumes; the *Archivo Santander*, published by the Academy of History in Bogotá, twenty-five volumes; the memoirs of General Daniel F. O'Leary, adjutant of Bolívar and one of his closest confidants, thirty-two volumes. Several score of diaries, memoirs, and other contemporary works must be consulted, as well as public and private archives in Venezuela and Colombia.

The author of the volume before us seems to have covered this material more thoroughly than any preceding biographer. The result is, on the whole, the most satisfactory study of the personality and career of Bolívar that has appeared in print. Vicente Lecuna, out of his immense knowledge, might write such a biography, more critical as to detail but perhaps somewhat less objective than is possible by a writer of foreign birth. Dr. Masur, a German scholar who has been both student and teacher at the University of Berlin and who has enjoyed the privilege of residing for a decade in Bogotá, capital of that Gran Colombia which Bolívar sought so tenaciously to create, contributes both the objectivity and the penetrating analysis so often absent in the past. F. Loraine Petre (*Simón Bolívar, "El Libertador,"* London, 1910), Francisco Rivas Vicuña (*Las Guerras de Bolívar*, 4 vols., Bogotá, 1934), and Vicente Lecuna in the numerous articles he has published in the *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* (Caracas), place more emphasis upon the technical aspects of Bolívar's military campaigns. Dr. Masur has supplied the competent, well-rounded, unbiased portrayal of the Liberator's career which has so long been desired.

Although sympathetic with his subject and deeply conscious of his greatness, the biographer does not hesitate to recognize the human frailties of his hero—errors of judgment, the lack of administrative clairvoyance in civil affairs, political blunders, the realities underlying Bolívar's tropical rhetoric, and the sometimes corroding element of personal ambition. Dr. Masur even dares to suggest (p. 29) that in the Liberator there may have been a slight strain of Negro blood—a suggestion blasphemous to members of the cult in Bolivarian countries. All of this is refreshing after immersion in a literature that would make Bolívar well-nigh infallible.

The book contains some vivid writing, as in the chapter called "Junín and Ayacucho," and the style is lively and animated throughout. At times, however,

a striking phrase or sweeping generalization is preferred to greater factual exactness, and vagueness or looseness of statement creates ambiguity or a mistaken impression. While master of the materials that concern the Liberator's career, the author is not always entirely at home in his Latin-American background. The pages that discuss Spain's former American empire are especially weak. One is startled to read that "nothing is so unbearable to a South American as any kind of consistent existence. Even the simple people, the peasants and day laborers, wander from place to place, exchanging one boredom for another . . ." (p. 493); or of Peru at the end of the colonial period that "Gold had decimated the land and poisoned its people morally and politically" (p. 505). We are told that Cadiz was captured by the French during the Napoleonic Wars (p. 95), and that in 1810, from April to September, "by far the greatest part of South America had . . . declared its independence" (p. 98, italics mine). It is scarcely correct to say that Venezuela was attacked by English "pirates" in the eighteenth century (p. 30), and it is equally questionable whether Bolívar's voice was ever "powerful" in Chile and Argentina (p. 590).

The *encomendero* in colonial Spanish America was in no sense a "feudal overlord"; he was not legally "the recipient of gifts" from his Indians; nor were the *encomiendas* the source of the *haciendas* or vast estates which characterize South American economy today (pp. 11-12). It is in no sense true that "the *mita* . . . in the mining industry paralleled the *encomienda* in farming"; nor should the legend be revived that it was due to the efforts of Las Casas that the Negro replaced Indian labor in American mines and plantations (p. 14). Professor Leonard has shown conclusively our mistake in thinking that "in those quiet colonial days little reading interrupted the stately and snobbish rhythm of men's lives" (pp. 17, 20). It may also be questioned that "American goods en route from one side of America to the other had to travel circuitously through Spanish ports" (p. 19), or that the Jesuits were the principal obstacle to intellectual freedom in the eighteenth century (as is clearly implied on p. 22).

Dr. Masur's biography, however, is easily the best in the English language, and one of the best in any language. Minor flaws may be easily corrected in a later edition. Its 698 pages of text may deter the casual reader, but, although well documented, they are far removed from pedantry. In his preface the author says of the historian, "His criteria are not and should not be purely scientific; they should be both suggestive and artistic." Dr. Masur's volume measures up to the high standards he has set for himself.

Harvard University

C. H. HARING

PARAGUAY: AN INFORMAL HISTORY. By *Harris Gaylord Warren*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 393. \$5.00.)

THIS is the only real history of Paraguay ever written in English except for Washburn's personal apologia (1871). Its author, a Latin Americanist scholar, in-

tended the book for the general reader, but it must be criticized for the *American Historical Review* from a scholarly as well as popular viewpoint.

The book is essentially a political narrative, with chapters interpolated on the social scene, since pre-Conquest days. It reflects wide reading. It makes no important errors of fact. It is outstanding on the struggle with Bolivia over the Gran Chaco.

There are, nevertheless, faults even from the popular viewpoint that could have been avoided had the author thought longer before he wrote. The reader might better understand the vicious tenacity of the Chaco struggle if the author had made him realize that Bolivia and Paraguay had lost all their other boundary disputes. Chapters overlap, while leaving unexplained gaps, as in the discussion of the settlement after the Paraguayan War: one should read pages 261-62 to understand page 243, and even so one learns of a president who resigned, without having found out how he rose. The style frequently shifts from academic to colloquial, or shows causeless levity, "cuteness," or a faintly superior and tongue-in-cheek attitude. The author, though he is sympathetic to Paraguay, apparently adopted such a tone to attract readers. There is also evidence that he lacked sure knowledge of his own viewpoint. Time after time he tells long stories as though he believes them, with only a hasty sentence at the end to raise a doubt. Several times he explicitly dodges on controversial points, as on pages 166 plus 181 plus 243, 257, and 260.

Some of the above faults are larger from the scholarly viewpoint, and the question of sources becomes important, but hard to judge. The preface points out that the book rests largely on secondary accounts. The bibliography omits periodical articles, and there are indications that the author tried to aid the reader by including valuable works whether or not he used them. In any case, some basic items are not mentioned. Considering the extent of Brazilian influences upon Paraguay, Brazilian sources, or at the very least Robert Southey's *History of Brazil* and more general recent histories, and Affonso de Escagnolle Taunay's *Historia geral das bandeirantes paulistas* (São Paulo, 1924-) should have been consulted. It is amazing not to find Juan Beverina's *Guerra del Paraguay* (7 vols., Buenos Aires, 1921-32) or the Jesuit *Cartas ánuas de la Provincia del Paraguay* (2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1927-29) or Father Pablo Pastells' *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en . . . Paraguay* (5 vols., Madrid, 1912-33; vol. VI by Father Mateos, 1946) or secular travel accounts that large libraries will show under such names as (to start the alphabet) Pedro de Angelis, José Arenales and Félix de Azara, or the *Colección general de documentos . . . persecución . . . de la Compañía . . . 1644-1762* (4 vols., Madrid, 1768-70). Finally, omitted accounts by travelers and missionaries could greatly have improved the treatment of the later nineteenth century.

On the whole, this is a good book for its intended purpose. For scholarly purposes it must be used with care, but is still a real addition to the available literature.

University of California, Los Angeles

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY

LETTERS OF DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN WRITTEN AT FORT VANCOUVER, 1829-1832. Edited by *Burt Brown Barker*. (Portland: Binford and Mort for Oregon Historical Society. 1948. Pp. iv, 376. \$6.00.)

THIS handsome volume supplements in a very interesting and useful way the three series of *Letters of John McLoughlin* published in 1941-44 by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society. The latter consisted of McLoughlin's correspondence with his superiors during the whole period that he was responsible for the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in the area west of the Rocky Mountains. Dr. Barker here prints one of McLoughlin's district letter books. Drafts of two or three of his dispatches to London appear in it, but otherwise the correspondence included is virtually all with his subordinates within the Columbia District.

The collection consists of 280 letters written between March, 1829, and September, 1832. They show McLoughlin in action after he had been at Fort Vancouver sufficiently long to have secured firm control of his district and "before the presence of either missionaries or pioneers raised the question of permanent settlement of the land for domestic purposes. The reader is in a historically sound-proof observation room watching the great fur company carry on free of the clash and clutter of the conflict which followed." In particular, the letters show the sure touch and defense-in-depth tactics with which McLoughlin parried the competition offered by the Boston brigs *Owhyhee* and *Convoy*, which had the effrontery to set up shop in the lower reaches of the Columbia River at a time when the Hudson's Bay Company was beginning to think that it had run all opposition off the coast. This episode, and the way in which the letters illustrate the amazing thoroughness with which McLoughlin knew and ordered every man and post in his vast district, are the most interesting features of the volume.

By some chance two letters written by Peter Skene Ogden are preserved in the letter book. One is a routine communication, but the other is a highly interesting word of advice addressed to John Work at the time Work was taking over from Ogden command of the celebrated Snake River trapping expeditions.

Dr. Barker's intimate knowledge of McLoughlin and his times is reflected in the notes and appendixes, which run to seventy pages. Nearly half this space is devoted to a useful biographical dictionary that identifies virtually every name appearing in the text. Similar notes on trading posts and trading vessels are followed by a score of pages outlining the general policy, routines, techniques, etc., that governed the company's activities in the Columbia.

A few minor slips should be corrected in later printings. "BaBoise" (p. 216) should be "Babine," and the name of the brig *Convoy* is given wrongly as *Consort* on several occasions. The *Beaver* referred to on pages 62 and 176 cannot have been the steamship of that name (as stated in the index), for the latter did not arrive on the Pacific Coast until 1836. The Cecilia Douglas referred to on page 148 was the

sister of James Douglas, not a relative of David Douglas, the botanist; and David himself was Scottish, not English, as stated on page 360. The addition of a table of contents would make the book much more convenient to use as a work of reference. It is a pity, too, that some other title could not have been found; as it is, confusion between this volume and the Champlain Society's series is inevitable.

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa

W. KAYE LAMB

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE POLITICAL TRADITION OF THE WEST: A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN LIBERALISM. By *Frederick Watkins*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. xiv, 368, \$5.00.) Modern liberalism is belief "in the ideals and methods of constitutional democracy." Leading to this definition of liberalism Professor Watkins, at the outset, derives the modern conception of freedom under law directly from Greece and Rome. He shows that the Christian church "provided the basis for an effective rule of law, and thus established the definitive form of Western civilization." By the end of the Middle Ages, the "basis of political life" was a dualistic conception of human society manifested in the two institutions to which all men belonged: the state as the active agency and the church as the "organized conscience of society." With the progressive secularization of the West from the sixteenth century onwards it became necessary to reconstruct the bases of the characteristic Western dualism and to find a secular substitute for the (in part) otherworldly institution of the church. That substitute was found in the "general will" of the "whole people." This is an excellent book, well written, carefully argued, systematically developed, and so compact that scarcely a sentence could be omitted without damage to its structure. And the Harvard Press should have some kind of typographer's prize for the fine printing and binding. However, the later chapters, on developments since the Middle Ages, are more convincing than the earlier ones, on the origins. The later chapters are especially illuminating in the profundity of their analyses (*e.g.*, of the thought of Rousseau) and in their classification of phenomena (*e.g.*, of the conservative reaction with the awakening of the agricultural classes). The earlier chapters are unconvincing and, indeed, most irritating in their sweeping and, occasionally, wrong-headed generalizations (*e.g.*, "Interest in theological orthodoxy soon led to the creation of an elaborate church organization"—there were other causes!) (*e.g.*, "the emergence of great civilizations has been effected by bureaucratic means") and even more irritating in their complete lack of documentation and of supporting arguments for the generalizations. These lacks impair the book considerably. But the reader who will persist beyond the first two chapters will be amply rewarded.

E. D. MYERS, *Roanoke College*

LES ORIGINES DU MALHEUR EUROPÉEN: L'AIDE ANGLO-FRANÇAISE À LA DOMINATION PRUSSIENNE. By *Jacques Bardoux*. (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 506, 500 fr.) This massive volume is the thirtieth to come from Professor Bardoux's pen. Its purpose is to prove that the origins of Europe's contemporary ills go back to the decade 1863-1875, when the blunders of the French and English governments gave Bismarck his chance to establish Prussian power. M. Bardoux wrote his book during the German occupation, a fact which may help to explain its fervor and its bias. He has used what he calls the psychological method, thus indicating a noble desire to free himself from slavish adherence to documentary sources in interpreting a diplomatic episode. But M. Bardoux has also freed himself from other more legitimate obligations of the historian: the obligation to use all the available sources, and especially the obligation to draw his conclusions after studying the facts rather than before. He leans primarily upon the published French diplomatic documents, the letters of Victoria, and biographies of English statesmen like Granville and Morier. Out of these materials he puts together some entertaining personality sketches of Victoria, Napoleon

III, and the men around these sovereigns; and on the basis of these psychological portraits he explains their policies toward Germany. Generally speaking, Napoleon and his advisers come off worse than do their English counterparts. M. Bardoux repeatedly insists that the foreign policy of the Second Empire was spiritually akin to that of the Popular Front, which to him is the ultimate damnation. Both regimes, he alleges, were foggy, naive, and unrealistic, and therefore failed to win Italian and Russian aid to block German aspirations. Victoria, on the other hand, gets M. Bardoux's partial seal of approval. Despite her German background and the nefarious influence of Albert, she eventually came to understand the Bismarckian threat. Her foreign minister Granville is the villain of the piece. If his predecessor, Clarendon, had only lived a few months longer, says M. Bardoux, the Franco-Prussian War would have been averted. The key to Granville's errors M. Bardoux seems to find in the fact that Granville's pulse beat, according to medical records, was only forty. After making this revelation, M. Bardoux refers *ad nauseam* to Granville's slow pulse in explaining England's diplomatic lethargy. Many of M. Bardoux's interpretations and conclusions are questionable; but such as they are, they would have been more effective if the length of the book had been cut in half. There are also far too many proof errors, and German and English names are frequently mangled. Professor Oncken, for example, gets his name spelled in a variety of ways, but never correctly.

GORDON WRIGHT, *University of Oregon*

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. By F. W. Pick. (Oxford, Pen-in-Hand, 1949, pp. 324, 10s. 6d.) This small volume is a collection of interesting and stimulating essays, by a British lecturer and writer on international affairs, which were originally published—with one exception—in various magazines and journals in the years 1939–1947. The title of the book is taken from the first and longest essay, “Contemporary History: Method and Men,” and should not be interpreted to indicate that the work is a comprehensive, well-organized history of recent years. Probably a more accurate title for the volume would have been *Contemporary History and Other Essays*, for some of the miscellaneous chapters—notably “The Baltic Tug-of-War” and “Tartu: A North European University”—cover several centuries, and one, “The President of Ireland,” is essentially an essay in political science. Most of the essays, it appears, were written on the occasion of the publication of certain significant public documents or private memoirs or diaries, and to a large extent each essay constitutes a résumé of one or more such works along with Dr. Pick's comments. To those who have not had the time or courage to wade through *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, Documents concerning German-Polish Relations—and the Outbreak of Hostilities between Great Britain and Germany on September 3, 1939, Peace and War, United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941*, and such works as Stresemann's *Diaries, Letters, and Papers*, Bonsal's *Unfinished Business*, and Hassell's *Diaries*, the volume offers a very pleasant short cut. To the informed historian, however, it will yield little that is new and may seem sketchy, superficial, and, at times, even one-sided. The major essay seeks to define and justify the writing of contemporary history and also to point out the very real danger which arises for historians from the present tendency of governments to collect a “mass of unconnected items.” When one realizes that, according to H. F. Pringle, the records of the whole history of the United States up to Pearl Harbor occupy only 700,000 cubic feet in Washington, while those of the Second World War occupied some 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 cubic feet at the close of that conflict, one will readily agree with Dr. Pick that contemporary history “is in danger of being drowned by evidence,” that sig-

nificant facts are apt to be hidden "under an avalanche of useless material, if we face the historian with so much dross that he will never reach the pure metal of sound appraisal."

F. LEE BENNS, *Indiana University*

LESSONS ON SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT: FROM THE HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *James T. Shotwell*, Acting President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and *Marina Salvin*, Lecturer in Government, Barnard College. (New York, King's Crown Press for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1949, pp. 149, \$2.25.) The definiteness of the Charter as compared to the Covenant is, the authors claim, to the disadvantage of the United Nations. Rigidity gives the objector more points on which to object. Too much reliance on legal procedures and too little emphasis on the political necessities of compromise may retard the peaceful settlement of disputes. The first section of the book is a recapitulation of the League's efforts during its first decade to achieve agreements on disarmament, definition of aggression, and outlawry and prevention of war. The remainder of the text is a comprehensive but brief survey of the forty-three security disputes which came before the Council of the League between June, 1920, and December, 1939. The two most important disputes which the League failed to settle are discussed in some detail. The Manchurian case indicates that the members of the League were not ready to put their academic conviction that the conflicts of any nation concerned all nations to the practical test. The Ethiopian case showed that although sanctions were more effective than generally realized, they finally collapsed because of the "fantastic and terrible diplomacy" of Laval and the timidity of the British. There is an appendix of relevant documents. This compact study is useful if disheartening. It reveals the discouraging fact that the ideas which are now considered essential for the prevention of war and maintenance of peace are the same ideas on which the League worked twenty years ago. There is this encouraging difference, however, which according to Mr. Shotwell is the *sine qua non* for peaceful procedures, namely, the support of public opinion. Today there is a substantial awareness of the necessity for collective security and a conviction that its practical implications must be pursued.

LOUISE LEONARD WRIGHT, *Chicago, Illinois*

FROM THE LEAGUE TO U.N. By *Gilbert Murray*, Formerly Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 214, \$4.50.) "Few forms of literature," writes England's most distinguished classicist-historian, "are less attractive than a reprint of old speeches when the thrill of the moment has gone and the immediate issues have become stale." Professor Murray is much too modest. His eight essays, reprinted from addresses and articles for the years 1934-1946, make fascinating reading. They bring to the still unresolved enigma of international organization the long perspective and the broad vision that most contemporary assessments sorely lack. Even the rapid changes in the two years since the special introduction was penned have not impaired the value of this splendid little volume. Professor Murray has arranged his essays in three sections. "Before the Second World War" is exemplified by his Romanes Lecture of 1935 in which he skillfully described the changes of the last half century, the replacement of the cosmos and faith of 1885 by the chaos and fear of 1935. The second part, entitled "During the War," is best represented by an address delivered in the fall of 1939 which soberly analyzed the achievements and failures of the League of Nations. The last section, "After the War," includes the Montague Burton Lecture, given at the University of Leeds in June, 1945, and three subsequent articles from the *Contemporary Review*. The ob-

stacles that the new United Nations organization will have to overcome were here set forth with remarkable clarity and foresight. It is a pity that some of the overly enthusiastic supporters of the U.N. in this country during 1945 and 1946 did not take more to heart the warnings of the former Regius Professor. In these pages the reader will find no comprehensive history of the League, no detailed account of its successor, no extended comparison of Covenant and Charter. But he will be rewarded by many keen and suggestive observations on all of those subjects as well as the larger issues of peace and war. Not the least arresting, one that might have been more fully developed, is contained in this last sentence of the prefatory remarks. "It may therefore be that in one single but all-important detail, the control of armaments and prohibition of war, nations will be induced to surrender their sovereignty to some ocumenical body because of the intolerable inconvenience of doing otherwise. A beginning of world government, hitherto an utterly impracticable dream, may be transformed into a mere obvious line of least resistance by the necessity of controlling the atom bomb."

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD, *Northwestern University*

WESTERN UNION: A STUDY OF THE TREND TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY.

By *Andrew and Frances Boyd*. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1949, pp. 183, \$3.00.) Since the middle of 1948, when this book was first published in England, a good deal has happened that bears on European unity west of the "iron curtain." The authors are not interested in the kind that prevails to the east of the curtain. On "our" side, some developments have been strictly and gratifyingly in the line of the "trend." Among them formation of the Council of Europe can certainly be listed first. Less certain of a place is the apparent habit—or compulsion—of economic co-operation among the Marshall Plan nations. For right here the trend seems to peter out. Despite the pressure of logic and ECA, economic integration in Western Europe has not gone deep. And under the impact of the new dollar crisis it is breaking down into autarchic nationalisms. Mr. and Mrs. Boyd did this study for the British United Nations Association, but they have given admirably fair treatment to all the other organizations and movements for European federation of one kind or another. The origins, growth, leadership, and programs of these are described against a background that includes the state of postwar disorganization in Europe and the history of earlier unification plans and accomplishments, from Dante and Sully down to the League of Nations and Briand's United States of Europe. The appendixes, filling half the book, are especially valuable as a text on what is invested in the present movement for western union. They reproduce the pertinent speeches, agreements, and resolutions of the postwar years, and Briand's memorandum of 1930, too. Briand's scheme, of course, came to grief on the rocks of the great depression. For cynics that may be the lesson of the Boyds' survey. But idealists will note that despite every setback the ideal of international unity endures and grows stronger.

THOMAS K. FORD, *Washington, D. C.*

FROM MANY ONE: THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION AND THE PROBLEM OF WORLD GOVERNMENT.

By *Crane Brinton*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. vi, 126, \$2.25.) This short book is a revision of three lectures delivered by Professor Crane Brinton at Pomona College in the year 1947. The author, a Harvard historian, has given us a number of scholarly books on the French Revolution and on nineteenth century political ideas. The present volume suffers somewhat from the haste with which it was composed and the lack of long reflection and intimate experience with actual government. Nevertheless it is a helpful contribution to the attempt to refute the perfectionists who have declared that the atomic age has confronted mankind with only two alternatives, namely, immediate

world federation or else the destruction of modern civilization. Professor Brinton bases most of his argument upon the history of the Roman Empire and of the great nationalist state of France. In the five thousand years of recorded Western history, he argues, mankind has been able to keep the peace within any large area only by means of a political system, based on force, supported by the elite and holding the loyalty of the masses. Imperialism and federalism, as well as a mixture of consent and force, have buttressed this system. Furthermore, the units of such a political system must not only contain several uniform characteristics, but also they must not include groups who are convinced that their interests are not promoted by the union. Ireland and Poland are cited as examples of festering sores of unsatisfied nationalism which preclude federation. The author concludes with a rebuke to the perfectionists, declaring that the process of political integration has almost invariably been a slow one. The author fails to develop a theory of gradualism, nor does he offer evidence and conclusion on the question whether or not the United Nations is an adequate step in the evolution of international integration. The economic phases of the problem are almost entirely ignored. In spite of its platitudes, the essay is a thought-provoking contribution to the literature of world federalism.

KENNETH COLEGROVE, *Northwestern University*

HOW FOREIGN POLICY IS MADE. By *Kurt London*. With the Collaboration of *Kent Ives*. (New York, D. Van Nostrand, 1949, pp. x, 277, \$3.50.) This is an interesting book on a very important subject. It deals with the nature and the mode of formation of foreign policy and with its execution. It centers on the United States and the Department of State but draws upon comparisons with other countries—Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia—to great advantage. Finally, some attention is given to the United Nations as such and to the relations between national foreign policy—United States policy in particular—and the United Nations. Some rather sententious conclusions are inserted at the end of the volume. An interesting, if very highly selective, bibliography is provided. Actually, many American readers will feel something strange about this treatment of American policy by a graduate “of Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Zurich, Rome, Paris, and London”—to quote the jacket—albeit later a member of the staff of the Department of State and the CIA (Sh!). It will be good for them. Mark Twain—was it not?—referred to the at least dubious moral quality of being a foreigner; millions of Americans still have a sneaking suspicion that foreign affairs are somewhat immoral. Kurt London’s volume, as good as it is, will, like Hans Morgenthau’s last volume, not convince them of the opposite—perhaps just the contrary. Nevertheless, they should read it. Morgenthau and London in turn should read a little—or rather quite a lot—of Benjamin Franklin and Norman Thomas.

PITMAN B. POTTER, *American University*

CHRONOLOGIE DES CIVILISATIONS. By *Jean Delorme*. [“Clio”: Introduction aux études historiques.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, pp. xiv, 437, 1,000 fr.) The key to this chronology is its connection with the many-volumed series of the “Clio” history of civilization. Addressed primarily to the readers and users of that series, it is, however, a generally useful compendium of world history to 1945. It is the French equivalent of the Langer volume, but its arrangement is entirely different and its coverage of American history is naturally much scantier. The first twenty-two pages list in chronological order “The Great Dates of Universal History” from 3064 B.C. (the founding of the Egyptian monarchy) to the Japanese surrender in 1945. Probable or approximate dates, like the first above, are put in italics. As might be expected, French events and lives of creative authors and artists are well represented in this list.

of great dates. The body of the book is divided into five sections: ancient history to 395 A.D.; the Dark Ages to 1095; the Middle Ages to 1492; modern history to 1789; and contemporary history from 1789 to the present. Each of these great groups is subdivided into lesser periods, twenty-six in all. One could differ with selections or groupings but that is one argument for this kind of a chronology or for any respectable chronology. When you have registered your dissents, not too numerous, you still have in this volume a very useful handbook. The six parallel columns for each date (each column with its own heading) increase their suggestiveness and bring a multitude of neglected dates in cultural history into juxtaposition with political and economic history. In short, it is a volume well worth adding to any collection of reference handbooks in its field.

G. S. F.

GESCHICHTE DER BALTISCHEN STÄDTE: VON IHREN ANFAEINGEN BIS ZUM ENDE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Ziedonis Ligers*. (Bern, Paul Haupt, 1948, pp. 329, 12 fr.) This book adds nothing to our knowledge of the history of cities in the Baltic states from their beginnings down to the end of the eighteenth century. Except for the introduction and the rather extended accounts on Riga and Reval, the book resembles an encyclopedia because some of the articles dealing with the lesser cities are less than a page in length and contain information which can be found in standard encyclopedias. The latter would be easier to use because the Baltic states are divided into Lithuania and Estonian groups in which the cities are taken up in the order the author deems their importance. The introduction is the sole attempt at synthesis. The work would have been of more value if additional space had been given to show the parallel development of the different cities instead of treating each city by itself. The accounts of Riga and Reval go beyond a dreary recital of wars, sieges, and conquests. Here some attempt was made to present the interrelation of trade, politics, and religion, and the reader obtains a slight insight into the origin and growth of municipal institutions. It is too bad that Mr. Ligers did not do the same for the other cities. Riga's history is written more or less from the documents, yet Mr. Ligers does not contribute anything to the scholarship of his predecessors, such as C. Mettig and other Baltic historians. Nevertheless the author does present a brief history of Riga and Reval from their beginnings up to the end of the eighteenth century in a synoptic fashion which might be of some worth to historians. The histories of the smaller cities are too brief to be of much value, especially in view of the fact that the book has no adequate index. Although lacking in bibliography and maps, the book does have some excellent illustrations of castles, cathedrals, and municipal seals. There are also some interesting facts concerning the construction of castles and fortresses, but such information is difficult to come by because of the lack of an index. All in all the book leaves much to be desired in presenting town history of the Baltic countries from the eighth to the end of the eighteenth century.

JOHN J. MURRAY, *Indiana University*

ARTICLES

ALFREDO PARENTE. La conoscibilità della storia. *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1949, no. 1.

FRITZ HARTUNG. L'Etat c'est moi. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, Apr.

RUDOLF STADELMANN. Jacob Burckhardts Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen. *Ibid.*

HAROLD A. HANSEN. Opening Phase of the Third Dutch War Described by the Danish Envoy in London, March-June 1672. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. 1848—As Seen from 1948. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, June.

HOWARD R. MARRARO, Mazzini on American Intervention in European Affairs. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.

Ancient History¹

T. Robert S. Broughton

THE GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY. By *M. Cary*, Formerly Professor of Ancient History at the University of London. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. vi, 331, \$7.50.) Ever since the days of Buckle historians have recognized the fact that geography plays a conspicuous part in human history. Unfortunately, however, they have usually left writing on this subject to persons with a rather sketchy knowledge of history. The present work, by a leading student of ancient history, is therefore an especially helpful and valuable contribution. The author has assembled a great amount of information about the geology, geography, and climate of the Mediterranean basin, and he makes a large number of acute suggestions as to how these factors influenced the history of the region. A brilliantly written first chapter surveys the Mediterranean area as a whole, and is followed by more detailed discussions of one region after another. About thirty excellent maps show the configuration of these different regions. Professor Cary believes that the climate of this part of the world has not changed greatly during the past three thousand years, and therefore he does not attribute the rise and fall of ancient civilization to climatic variations. In fact, he remarks rather frequently that these great historical phenomena were due to social and political causes rather than to natural ones. He believes firmly that, after all, men do make their history, though climate clearly affects men and their activities are determined to a considerable extent by the physical characteristics of the land in which they live. The author assumes a wide knowledge of history on the part of his readers, which makes the book rather difficult for beginning students, but if even a beginner were to read the first chapter at the end of a year course in ancient history he would find many suggestive and stimulating ideas about why ancient history followed the course it did. The student who wishes more than a general survey of the history of the ancient world will find that he must study this book with care.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

HELLAS: A SHORT HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE. By *C. E. Robinson*. (New York, Pantheon Books, 1948, pp. 201, \$3.00.) A major task imposed upon today's teacher of history is to demonstrate that the study of it is relevant and significant for the modern student who is absorbed in the urgency of the complex problems of the contemporary world. The value of this little book lies in the fact that it attempts to do this for the history of Greece and succeeds rather well in the field of political thought and action. The author's method is to touch very lightly upon the main events of Greek history and the major phenomena of Greek culture, to explain them in current terms and point out modern parallels. Thus Sparta's foreign policy through several centuries becomes perfectly intelligible to anyone aware of world events of the past fifteen years. The development and functioning of democratic government in

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

Athens, and its deterioration, are described in sufficiently simple terms to impress their significance on any thoughtful citizen of today's democracies. The account of the Peloponnesian War concentrates on the underlying political causes and motivations of the major moves and on their results, and shows clearly how modern that war really was. Simple language is used throughout and technical Greek terms are avoided. The book will not serve as a formal history of Greece, however, for the treatment of events is too sketchy; the whole story of Alexander is told in less than three pages. It is rather a series of essays on the several periods of Greek history and culture and perhaps unconsciously presupposes a considerable knowledge of the field. A few more dates in the text would have aided the uninitiated reader, and references for the numerous, freely translated quotations should surely have been given. The brevity of the treatment has led at times to oversimplification and summary generalizations, some questionable, but there is much to provoke thought and discussion, and the book will be a useful supplement to a more standard history.

THEODORE HENRY ERCK, *Vassar College*

CONSTANTINE AND THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE. By *A. H. M. Jones*.

[Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. xiv, 271, \$2.00.)

A biography of a Roman emperor is inevitably also a history of his times; and Professor Jones has written a well-balanced and well-paced account of the chief events—political, military, economic, and religious—from Diocletian's accession to Constantine's death. The author's skill in narrating the complex course of events in those years, the resultant clarity and readability, are admirable. Equally admirable are his judicious understanding and candor in treating the subject of religion, which naturally bulks large here; of sixteen chapters nine deal with religion: the pagan cults and Christianity, the persecutions, the heresies, and the councils. Discussions of the literary and numismatic sources and of problems arising from them are woven unobtrusively into the narrative. The generous quotation (in English) from the documents preserved in Eusebius, Lactantius, and other writers forms an attractive feature of this book; such documents the author accepts as authentic. Constantine, it appears, was a religious man in the sense that "he believed . . . that success depended on the favour of higher powers"; his conversion was a religious experience, though not a spiritual one. At a moment of crisis he chanced to witness the "halo phenomenon," which in the form of a cross visible against the sun "has been on several occasions scientifically observed." Ambitious for divine aid, he adopted the Christian insignia, in his opinion thus deliberately proffered; and in time he became a genuinely convinced Christian. The conversion of Europe followed in due course; but this biography, despite the promise of its title, discloses that conversion and its consequences in broad outline only. Professor Jones gives a lucid recital of the tangled doctrinal controversies of the church. The emperor intervened in these disputes because he believed that Heaven, irate at disunity among the faithful, would surely cease to favor the empire.

MALCOLM E. AGNEW, *Boston University*

GENERAL ARTICLES

- ROGER L. SHINN. Augustinianism and Cyclical Views of History. *Anglican Theol. Rev.*, July.
 MORTON S. ENSLIN. Light from the Quest. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan.
 ERNST MEYER. Die neuen Grundlagen der altorientalischen Chronologie. *Philologus*, XCVI, no. 4.
 SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER. Gilgamesh and Agga. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Jan.
 M. E. L. MALLOWAN. Kingship and the Gods [review article]. *Antiquity*, June.
 E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. Fish Offerings in Ancient Mesopotamia. *Iraq*, Autumn, 1948.
 A. DUPONT-SOMMER. Le déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes hittites. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.

- PIERRE DEMARGNE. Nouveaux aspects de l'histoire et de l'archéologie chypriotes [review article]. *Rev. étud. grec.*, July, 1948.
- A. ANDREWES. The Corinthian Actaeon and Pheidon of Argos. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.
- H. T. WADE-GERY. A Note on the Origin of the Spartan Gymnopaïdai. *Ibid.*
- R. FLACELIÈRE. Sur quelques passages des Vies de Plutarque. II. Lycurgue-Numa. *Rev. étud. grec.*, July, 1948.
- J. A. O. LARSEN. Cleisthenes and the Development of the Theory of Democracy at Athens. *Essays in Political Theory Presented to George H. Sabine* (Cornell, 1948).
- R. FLACELIÈRE. Thémistocle, les Érétriens et le calmar. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July, 1948.
- C. BRADFORD WELLES. The Economic Background of Plato's Communism. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Supp. VIII.
- TRUESDELL S. BROWN. Callisthenes and Alexander. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, July.
- J. TONDRIAU. Alexandre le Grand assimilé à différentes divinités. *Rev. philol.*, XXIII, fasc. 1.
- A. AYMARD. Le protocole royal grec et son évolution. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July, 1948.
- EUGENIO MANNI. L'Egitto tolemaico nei suoi rapporti politici con Roma: I. L' "Amicitia." *Riv. filol. class.*, Jan.
- M. HADAS. III Maccabees and the Tradition of Patriotic Romance. *Chronique d'Égypte*, Jan.
- S. E. SMETHURST. The Growth of the Roman Legend. *Phoenix*, Spring.
- J. A. O. LARSEN. *Consilium* in Livy xlv. 18, 6-7 and the Macedonian *Synedria*. *Class. Philol.*, Apr.
- KURT LATTE. Augur und Templum in der varronischen Auguralformel. *Philologus*, XCVII, nos. 1-2.
- E. D. EAGLE. Catiline and the Concordia Ordinum. *Phoenix*, Spring.
- J. SCHWARTZ. Sur quelques anecdotes concernant César et Cicéron. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July, 1948.
- ANDRÉ PIGANIOL. Un ennemi de Cicéron [review article]. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.
- J. ANDRÉ. C. Asinius Pollio et la "Propagande" pro-octavienne. *Rev. étud. lat.*, XXVI.
- A. E. RAUBITSCHKE. Phaidros and His Roman Pupils. *Hesperia*, Jan.
- A. DEGRASSI. Osservazioni su alcuni consuli suffetti dell'età di Augusto e di Tiberio. *Epigraphica*, VIII.
- M. ABERBACH. The Conflicting Accounts of Josephus and Tacitus concerning Cumanus' and Felix' Terms of Office. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, July.
- R. SCHILLING. Le Temple de Venus Capitoline et la tradition pomériale. *Rev. philol.*, XXIII, fasc. 1.
- L. HERRMANN. L. Antistius Vetus et le Pomerium. *Rev. étud. lat.*, XXVI.
- P. GRENADE. Un exploit de Néron. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July, 1948.
- HANS ULRICH INSTINSKY. Die Ruhm von Titus. *Philologus*, XCVI, no. 4.
- JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS. Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire. *Hesperia*, Jan.
- JAMES H. OLIVER. Patrons Providing Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, July.
- Id. The Divi of the Hadrianic Period. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan.
- JEAN FILLIOZAT. Les échanges de l'Inde et de L'Empire romain aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.
- ROBERT M. GRANT. Irenaeus and Hellenistic Culture. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan.
- J. BOUSSARD. Étude sur la ville de Tours du 1^{er} au 14^e siècle. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July.
- CLAUDIO SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ. La Campaña de la Morcuera. *Anales de historia antigua y medieval* (Buenos Aires), 1948.
- A. HOEPFFNER. Les deux procès du pape Damase. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July, 1948.
- CLAIRE PREAUX. La fin de l'antiquité en Égypte. *Chronique d'Égypte*, Jan.
- J. RUELENS. Jules César et les origines de Jodoigne. *Rev. belge philol. et hist.*, XXVI, no. 4, 1948.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- HERBERT MARYON. Metal Working in the Ancient World. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr.
- F. R. KRAUS. Ein altakkadische Festungsbild. *Iraq*, Autumn, 1948.
- G. CONTENAU. Les fouilles en Asie occidentale. *Rev. archéol.*, Jan.
- SAUL S. WEINBERG. Investigations at Corinth, 1947-1948. *Hesperia*, Jan.
- JOHN TRAVLOS. The Topography of Eleusis. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES EDSON. The Tomb of Olympias. *Ibid.*

- B. VAN DE WALLE. La "Cléopâtre" de Maricmont. *Chronique d'Égypte*, Jan.
 EUGENE VANDERPOOL. The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia*, Jan.
 JOHN BRADFORD. "Buried Landscapes" in Southern Italy. *Antiquity*, June.

LITERARY, EPIGRAPHICAL, AND PAPYROLOGICAL SOURCES

- R. D. BARNETT. Hittite Hieroglyphique Texts at Aleppo. *Iraq*, Autumn, 1948.
 H. TUR-SINAI [TORCZYNER]. Lachish Letter IV. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Apr.
 GEORGES DAUX. Un règlement cultuel d'Andros. *Hesperia*, Jan.
 A. G. WOODHEAD. *I. G. I*² 95, and the Ostracism of Hyperbolus. *Ibid.*
 PETER E. CORBETT. ΑΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΕΩΝΙΑΗ. *Ibid.*
 MARKELLOS TH. MITSOS. Inscriptions of the Eastern Peloponnesus. *Ibid.*
 GÜNTHER KLAFFENBACH. Zu König Antigonos Schreiben an die Teier. *Philologus*, XCVII, nos. 1-2.
 ALBERT REHM. Zum Brief Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II an seine Wehrmacht auf Kypros. *Ibid.*, XCVI, nos. 3-4.
 N.-M. CONDOLÉON. Inscriptions de Chios. *Rev. philol.*, XXIII, fasc. 1.
 GÜNTHER KLAFFENBACH. Epigraphische Studien. *Philologus*, XCVI, no. 4.
 J. A. B. PALMER. Periplus Maris Erythraei, Remarks on Chapter 47. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.
 MARIA SANTANGELO. Iscrizioni in Latino arcaico su due "pocula deorum" proveniente da Veio. *Latomus*, Jan.
 W. S. WATT. Cicero, Ad Atticum 4. 3. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.
 M. RAMBAUD. Salluste et Trogue-Pompée. *Rev. étud. lat.*, XXVI.
 LEONARDO FERRERO. Attualità e tradizione nella *Praefatio* Liviana. *Riv. filol. class.*, Jan.
 A. DEGRASSI. Pastillo alla nuova edizione dei Fasti Consulares et Triumphales (*I. I. XIII.1*). *Epigraphica*, VIII.
 MARIO ATTILIO LEVI. Il Prologo della *Pharsalia*. *Riv. filol. class.*, Jan.
 N. DEGRASSI. L'Identificazione epigrafica del Serapio di Pozzuoli. *Epigraphica*, VIII.
 J. CARCOPINO. Le marbre de Thorigny. *Rev. étud. anc.*, July, 1948.
 F. CASTAGNOLI. "Schola Viatorum Triumvirum et Quattuorvirum." *Epigraphica*, VIII.
 JEAN BINGEN. Contribution au texte du papyrus des Revenue-Laws. *Chronique d'Égypte*, Jan.
 MARIE-THÉRÈSE LENGIER. Quelques papyrus inédits de la Bibliothèque Bodléenne. *Ibid.*
 P. L. ZOVATTO. Le epigrafi latine e greche nei sarcofagi paleocristiani delle necropoli di Iulia Concordia. *Epigraphica*, VIII.
Id. Le epigrafi greche e la disciplina battesimale a Concordia nei secoli IV e V. *Ibid.*

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THEOLOGIA GERMANICA. Introduction and Notes by J. Bernhart. (New York, Pantheon Books, 1949, pp. 240, \$2.50.) Winkworth's nineteenth century translation, for some time out of print, is here revised by Willard Trask to accord with the modern German version of the Roman Catholic theologian, Joseph Bernhart. Bernhart's translated essay on mysticism and his notes buttress the source. The very real services of editor, translator, and publisher will elicit varying degrees of appreciation from those who read the 115-page translation of *The German Theology* against the 100-page background of the introduction. Bernhart's erudite presentation is more effective, throughout, in passing judgment upon mystical aberrations than in generating sympathetic understanding of the mystic way. Brilliant expositions of mysticism as a concept, its essence, and its Christian as well as non-Christian sources hold deceptive promise of new insights. Actually, they enshrine within the freshly illumined boundaries of traditional scholarship an old, patronizing assessment of mysticism. That is, a tolerant recognition of numerous mystical contributions to the history of

Christian spirituality is excessively hedged about with reminders of mysticism's tendency to pantheism and its threat to the sacramental church and the life of ordered society. The profounder implications of the mystical yearning to renounce the whole self are subtly depreciated; particularly, the heightened sense of social responsibility that characterized those renunciants wholly committed to worship of the Divine. One would scarcely draw from this introduction a balanced interpretation of such historical phenomena as the participating faith of most medieval mystics in the sacramental way of salvation; numerous catholicizing potentialities within the Pseudo-Dionysian concept of hierarchy; the surprisingly flexible adaptiveness of scholastic training to popular ministry; and the mystics' disciplined contribution to, as well as spiritual inheritance from, cenobitic monasticism. A critical reviewer, like the mystical sympathizer, may feel, at times, that the preliminary essay serves better to publicize Bernhart's own provocative generalizations than to introduce the translated source. Nevertheless, the editor's scintillating analysis of the sources within medieval mysticism tributary to the *Theologia Germanica* and his recapitulation of its living role in history serve to bring that classic of devotion into the forefront of continuing spiritual issues. The 1497 manuscript text of the "Frankfurter" is adequately edited and translated. However uneven its strands of beautiful perceptivity and pedestrian admonition, this "spiritual noble little book" remains through all the vicissitudes of time and circumstance a fount of strength and inspiration.

RAY C. PETRY, *Duke University*

LE ROYAUME DES FRANCS ET L'ASCENSION POLITIQUE DES MAIRES DU PALAIS AU DÉCLIN DU VII^e SIÈCLE (656-680). By *Louis Dupraz*. (Fribourg, Switz., Imprimerie St-Paul, 1948, pp. 426.) This closely reasoned monograph consists of a series of critical studies, based on the central theme of the alleged usurpation of Grimoald the Old, *major domus* of Austrasia, following the death of Sigibert III, the reigning Merovingian king of Austrasia, in 656. The traditional account found in the *Liber historiae Francorum* suggests a *coup d'état* whereby Grimoald drove Dagobert II, the son of Sigibert and presumptive heir to the Austrasian realm, into exile in Ireland, placed his own son, Childebert, on the throne, but was later seized and condemned to death by the Neustrian king, Clovis II. However, Dupraz points to certain chronological inconsistencies and errors of fact in this account which cast grave doubt on the correctness of the accepted view. He shows that the failure of Grimoald's plot was not evident immediately and that Clovis II had been dead several years before Grimoald and his son were overthrown. In fact, their dominance in Austrasia probably extended over nearly seven years, from 656 to 662. Documentary evidence is extremely scanty for this period but important inferences may be derived from the study of the *Liber* in the light of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar and its continuations, and of certain Austrasian royal lists. Other important evidence is obtained by the reconstruction of a charter of immunity of Clothaire III for the monastery of St. Denis in 660-662 to which the author devotes a special study in chapter 1. As a result, Dupraz arrives at the conclusion that the so-called *coup d'état* was not a strictly Austrasian affair but rather an aspect of the conflict between Neustria and Austrasia arising from the Neustrian policy of the unification of the Merovingian realm under Neustrian leadership. Indeed, the incident was no genuine *coup d'état* at all but a political maneuver of the Neustrian palace circle to which Grimoald had lent his assistance and in which Sigibert III had been prevailed upon before his death to adopt Childebert as his legal heir. Later the Neustrian party felt it had been deceived by Grimoald's increasing ambition, whereupon he was taken in ambush and condemned to death by Clothaire III in 662—not by Clovis II who had died in 657. This study derives importance from its detailed analysis of the policies tending toward the integration of the Merovingian

realm and its recognition of the growing power and favorable position of the mayors of the palace in advancing Carolingian interests whether in Austrasia or Neustria.

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR, *Rice Institute*

EMPEROR FREDERICK II. By *David G. Einstein*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. 427, \$4.50.) This book is ignorantly, naïvely, and dully written, and should never have been published. The publisher points the way by speaking of Frederick II as "the last of the Holy Roman Emperors." The author blissfully indulges in the following: Tancred of Hauteville's numerous family "reveals that no thought of race suicide was present in those days and that much skill in obstetrics must have been known in the Normandy of his day"; Robert Guiscard's plan to conquer Greece, "then a magnificent Saracen Empire"; "Robert and his followers retired from Rome and retreated southward to San Angelo where Gregory had taken refuge"; on returning from the Third Crusade, Richard "rather than land in France ventured back upon the sea and was shipwrecked off the coast of Germany"; King John was defeated at Bouvines; the doctrine of the immaculate conception was proclaimed at the Fourth Lateran Council; the church "was bent on holding back the investigation of scientific life and in thwarting the development of philosophy and literature"; in Frederick's veins "flowed the course of Oriental life"; Latin remained "the hard inflexible, unromantic speech of Caesar" until poets in Frederick's Sicily purged it of its impurities, "and in the hands of Dante the old Latin, instead of remaining a language of law and dogma, became a language of moods and sentiment, of romance and love"; "the attempt to find learning outside of the Holy Writ was sacrilegious in the eyes of the Church"; Frederick thought it was the duty of the state to educate the masses. "Medieval age" and numerous misspellings offer comic relief: Tancre, Moelfi, Manreale, Tournau (for Tournai), Acquiliea, Coloma, Senibald Freschi, James Byrce, Maurice Sueuf, Howard Lamb, and so on. Ernst Kantorowicz' work was not used. *Quid plus?*

GAINES POST, *University of Wisconsin*

THE KNIGHT-ERRANT OF ASSISI. By The Most Rev. *Hilarin Felder*, O.F.M. Cap., S.T.D., Titular Bishop of Gera. Translated by the Rev. *Berchmans Bittle*, O.F.M. Cap. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1948, pp. xii, 152, \$2.50.) Bishop Felder, himself for many years a member of one branch of the Franciscan family, has a deep and affectionate reverence for the Poverello. In this slender volume he presents a portrayal and interpretation of St. Francis as a child of the age of chivalry who, in his own person and actions, reflected the glory of heroic knighthood. The first chapters describe the eager desire of the cloth merchant's son to rise to a higher social class; his bitter experience with the serious side of chivalry and soldiering in the struggle between Assisi and Perugia; his conversion from earthly warfare to spiritual; and his courting of the Lady Poverty. The second part of the book, "The proving of the knight-errant of Christ," deals with Francis' life and apostolate after his conversion. The last chapter is concerned with Francis as a poet, "the troubadour and minstrel of God." There is little, if anything, new here; but the story is well told, and it is clear enough that the author is conversant with a wide range of Franciscan material. A few statements of questionable accuracy, a few instances of infelicity in phraseology (the fault of the translator), are of little or no moment.

ALFRED H. SWEET, *Washington and Jefferson College*

AMÉDÉE DE LAUSANNE, DISCIPLE DE SAINT BERNARD. By Le F. *M.-Anselme Dimier*, Moine de Tamié. [Figures monastiques.] (Abbaye Saint-Wandrille, Éditions de Fontenelle, 1949, pp. xlv, 483, 750 fr.) Amadeus, monk of Clairvaux, abbot of

Hautecombe, and bishop of Lausanne (1144-1159), has been a figure little known even to medievalists. In this book Brother Marie-Anselme Dimier, a Trappist monk of Tamié (department of Savoy) seeks to remind us that he was in fact a person of considerable importance in the political and religious life of the twelfth century. The first half of the volume is devoted to a biographical sketch of Amadeus. This is clearly and, for the most part, interestingly written. The only defect is a tendency to round out certain chapters with the details of deeds and other formal documents. These make dull reading, and, as the documents themselves are in most cases printed *in toto* at the back of the book, one has the feeling that this minute detail is superfluous. The author has made a thorough study of the original sources, and he conscientiously documents his statements of fact. He also provides the reader with complete bibliographies. Naturally he is sympathetic toward his subject, but on the whole he succeeds in maintaining a high standard of scholarly objectivity. The second half of the book contains seven appendixes, fifty-five documents, some of them here printed for the first time, and an index of persons and places. This material should prove of value to any scholar who may desire to carry further Dimier's study of Amadeus. *Amédée de Lausanne* will prove of interest to students of monasticism and of the Cistercian movement in particular. It will also be useful to those concerned with the local history of Dauphiné, Savoy, and Lausanne. It is improbable, however, that it will be as widely read as the volume in "Figures monastiques" devoted to Gerbert, or the forthcoming one on Suger. To most readers Amadeus will inevitably appear a less impressive figure than either of these.

JOHN R. WILLIAMS, *Dartmouth College*

ROMANIA: THE JEWRIES OF THE LEVANT AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

By *Joshua Starr*. (Paris, Éditions du Centre, 1949, pp. 123.) This little book may be best described as a series of monographs dealing with Jewish communities located in the lands which before 1204 formed parts of the Byzantine Empire. Romania, as the term was used before the Fourth Crusade referred to the Byzantine Empire: after 1204 it was given to the Latin Empire of Constantinople; it was also used to designate the Byzantine Empire after it was restored by Michael VIII Palaeologus. The term, however, may be used in a general way and for the sake of simplicity to denote the lands which once constituted the Byzantine Empire but which, as a result of the Fourth Crusade, became independent or semi-independent states ruled by Greeks or Latins or under the jurisdiction of Italian republics, notably Venice. It is in this sense that the term is used in the title of this book. The book opens with a general essay on the position of the Jews throughout Romania following the breakup of the Byzantine Empire. Then follows a series of chapters dealing with various Jewish communities located in Romania—Constantinople, Salonica, Chalcis, Patras, and others. The list of the communities treated is not complete and the treatment in certain cases is very brief. The brevity of the treatment is, of course, due to the fragmentary nature of the sources, while the incompleteness of the list is to be explained by the fact that communities omitted have been treated elsewhere, either by the author himself, as for instance the Jewish communities in Crete, or by others. For over two centuries the Jews of the Byzantine Empire enjoyed political and economic stability. This stability was disturbed by the events of 1204, but, as conditions became more settled, the position of the Jews became clarified and on the whole somewhat improved. The persecution to which, for a while, they had been subjected by the Greeks came to an end under Michael Palaeologus and thereafter they enjoyed religious toleration. Both in Greek and Latin lands they were under two disabilities: they were subject to a special tax and were required to live in special quarters, but the latter was not always enforced. The Jews of Romania were more fortunate than their Western contemporaries.

Dr. Starr has again demonstrated his grasp of the material dealing with the Jews of the Levant. It is to be hoped that he will continue his studies and will eventually give us the authoritative work on the subject. PETER CHARANIS, *Rutgers University*

MEDIAEVAL RUSSIAN CHURCHES. By *Samuel Hazzard Cross*, Late Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University. Edited by *Kenneth John Conant*, Professor of Architecture, Harvard University. [The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 53.] (Cambridge, the Academy, 1949, pp. xiv, 95, plates, \$7.50.) In 1933, after he had spent a year in Russia studying its churches in company with Professor Kenneth J. Conant, the late Professor Cross of Harvard gave a series of lectures at the Fogg Museum on medieval Russian churches. These lectures are now published in a handsomely printed and richly illustrated volume by the Mediaeval Academy of America as a tribute to Professor Cross, whose death three years ago was a grievous loss to the field of Byzantine and Slavic studies and indeed to medieval studies in general. Both specialists and laymen will gain from these brilliant lectures and the 113 accompanying illustrations, many of them rare, an understanding of the historical development of Russian church architecture and an appreciation of the artistic forms in which the Russian spirit expressed itself during the Middle Ages. The ancient churches of Kiev, Chernigov, Novgorod, Pskov, Vladimir-Suzdal, and Moscow, many of them casualties of war, are clearly described and their architectural and decorative elements precisely and perceptively analyzed. The author examines the distinctive features of Russian church architecture: the Byzantine architecture and internal decoration of the churches at Kiev and Chernigov, the transmission of the Kievan style to Novgorod where striking innovations in the decoration and in the actual construction were introduced, the influences of two successive schools of Byzantine painting on the decoration of the northern churches, the introduction of Western influences at Novgorod and Pskov, the adaptation of Romanesque elements to a Byzantine base at Vladimir, the weakening of the Byzantine tradition under the impact of the Tartar domination, the injection in the churches at Moscow of a fresh element derived from the primitive wooden architecture, and finally the blending of Eastern and Western styles and the appearance of the Ukrainian baroque. The bulbous domes, the onion-section gables, or *kokoshniki*, the tent-shaped spires, the tower churches, and the "log-cabin" churches, all that is typical of Russian ecclesiastical architecture is fully described and its development made clear. A fascinating chapter in the history of art is provided by these lectures, which will stand as a monument to a gifted scholar. SOLOMON KATZ, *University of Washington*

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

- WILLY ANDREAS. Johan Huizinga, 1872-1945. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, Apr.
 J. P. ELDER and T. E. MOMMSEN. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: Present Status and Plans. *Speculum*, Apr.
 G. B. FLAHIFF. The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto. *Ibid.*
 PHILIPPE WOLFF. French Historical Writings on the Middle Ages, 1940-47. *History*, Oct., 1948.
 Le travail historique dans le Pas-de-Calais en 1947. *Rev. du Nord*, Oct.-Dec., 1948.
 M. DEFOURNEAUX. Bulletin historique: histoire d'Espagne. Moyen âge, années 1936-47. *Rev. hist.*, Oct., 1948.
 HOMER NEARING, JR. Local Caesar Traditions in Britain. *Speculum*, Apr.
 BENOÎT M. LACROIX. The Notion of History in the Early Medieval Historians. *Med. Stud.*, X, 1948.
 F. L. GANSHOF. Het falen van Karel de Grote. *Verslag Alg. verg. Hist. Gen.*, Utrecht, May 15, 1948.
 HUGH MARWICK. Naval Defence in Norse Scotland. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

- MIGUEL DE FERDINANDY. Sobre el poder temporal en la cultura occidental alrededor del año 1000. *Anales de historia antigua y medieval* (Buenos Aires), 1948.
- CLAUDIO SANCHEZ ALBORNOZ. La campaña de la Morcuera. *Ibid.*
- H. DORCHY. Godefroid de Bouillon, duc de Basse-Lotharingie. *Rev. belge philol. et hist.*, XXVI, no. 4, 1948.
- SVERRE STEEN. Tronfølgeloven av 1163 og konungstekja i hundreåret etter. *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Oslo), XXXV, no. 1, 1949.
- ROBERT BOUTRUCHE. Qu'est-ce que la féodalité? *Rev. hist.*, Oct., 1948.
- J. BUNTINX. L'origine de l'Audience des comtes de Flandres. *Rev. du Nord*, Oct.-Dec., 1948.
- CHARLES LAYS. La mort d'Arnoul de Valenciennes et l'inféodation de Valenciennes à Baudouin IV, Comte de Flandres. *Moyen âge*, 1948, no. 1-2.
- P. S. LEICHT. Il parlamento friulano nel primo secolo della dominazione veneziana. *Riv. stor. del diritto ital.*, XXI, 1948.
- VITA VITALE. Guelfi e Ghibellini a Genoa nel duecento. *Riv. stor. ital.*, LX, no. 4, 1948.
- ROBERT LEE WOLFF. The "Second Bulgarian Empire." Its Origin and History to 1204. *Speculum*, Apr.
- Id.* The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest. *Traditio*, VI.
- FERDINANDO BERNINI. Come si preparò la ruina di Federico II (Parma, la lega medio-padana e Innocenzo IV dal 1238 al 1247). *Riv. stor. ital.*, LX, no. 2, 1948.
- PIERRE CHAPLAIS. English Arguments concerning the Feudal Status of Aquitaine in the Fourteenth Century. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, Nov., 1948.
- K. BITTMANN. La campagne lancastrienne de 1463. *Rev. belge philol. et hist.*, XXVI, no. 4, 1948.
- ALBERTO FREIXAS. El fin de Bizancio. *Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, 1948.
- B. C. DE FREDE. Un memoriale di Ferrante I d'Aragón a Luigi XI (1478). *Riv. stor. ital.*, LX, no. 3, 1948.

ECONOMIC AND LEGAL

- F. L. GANSHOF. Manorial Organization in the Low Countries in the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Centuries. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- Id.* Le domaine gantois de l'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin à l'époque carolingienne. *Rev. belge philol. et hist.*, XXVI, no. 4, 1948.
- ROBERT LATOUCHE. Défrichement et peuplement rural dans le Maine du ix^e au xiii^e siècle. *Moyen âge*, 1948, no. 1-2.
- P. PIETRESON DE SAINT-AUBIN. Trois formulaires et recueils de jurisprudence de l'Eglise de Cambrai. *Rev. du Nord*, Oct.-Dec., 1948.
- ANNE TERROINE. Un cartulaire privé du xiii^e siècle dans le fonds de l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire. *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 1947-48.
- MATTEO GAUDIOSO. Lineamenti di una "dottrina della consuetudine buona e approvata" per le città del Regnum Siciliae. *Riv. stor. del diritto ital.*, 1948.
- H. VAN WERVEKE. Currency Manipulation in the Middle Ages: The Case of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- GEORGES ESPINAS. Les origines urbaines en Flandre. *Moyen âge*, 1948, no. 1-2.
- J. F. VIERMEYER. Een vyftiende-eeuwse handelsoorlog: Dordrecht contra de Bovenlandse Steden, 1442-1445. *Bydragen Med. Hist. Gen.*, LXVI, 1948.
- MARINETTE BRUWIER. Notes sur les finances hennuyères à l'époque bourguignonne. *Moyen âge*, 1948, no. 1-2.
- J. DE GHELLINCK. Magister Vacarius. Un juriste théologien peu aimable pour les canonistes. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1949, no. 1-2.
- H. G. RICHARDSON. Studies in Bracton. *Traditio*, VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

- LUDWIG BIELER. The Mission of Palladius. *Traditio*, VI.
- O. CHADWICK. Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Jan.-Apr.
- AUBREY GWYNN. St. Malachy of Armagh [II]. *Irish Eccles. Rec.*, Feb.-Apr.

- GIOVANNI SORANZO. Aspetti del pensiero e dell' opera di Gregorio VII e lo spirito dei tempi. *Aevum*, XXII, fasc. 2-4.
- F. CLAUDON. Un *condominium* ecclésiastique. Pairie épiscopale et jurisdiction capitulaire [Langres]. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1949, no. 1-2.
- J. LECLERCQ. Une nouvelle édition des oeuvres de Saint Bernard. *Ibid.*
- STEPHAN KUTTNER. Notes on a Projected Corpus of Twelfth-Century Decretal Letters. *Traditio*, VI.
- J. GAUDEMET. Les formes anciennes de l'excommunication. *Rev. des sciences relig.*, Jan.
- C. R. CHENEY. King John's Reaction to the Interdict in England. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- A. FLICHE. Innocent III et la réforme de l'Église. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1949, no. 1-2.
- H. G. LEASK. Irish Cistercian Monasteries: A Pedigree and Distribution Map. *Jour. Royal Soc. Antiquaries of Ireland*, July, 1948.
- ROBERT LEE WOLFF. Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria. *Traditio*, VI.
- DOROTHY M. WILLIAMSON. The Legate Otto in Scotland and Ireland, 1237-1240. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- RICHARD W. EMERY. The Friars of the Blessed Mary and the Pied Friars. *Speculum*, Apr.
- RAY C. PETRY. Mediaeval Eschatology and Social Responsibility in Bernard of Morval's *De contemptu mundi*. *Ibid.*
- MONIQUE CAZEAUX-VARAGNAC. Exposé sur la doctrine des Cathares. *Rev. de synthèse*, July-Dec., 1948.
- Y. DOSSAT. L'Évolution des rituels cathares. *Ibid.* [this issue has several other articles on catharist Provence].
- W. ULLMANN. Medieval Views concerning Papal Abdication. *Irish Eccles. Rec.*, Feb.
- JOSEPH LORTZ. Zur Problematik der kirchlichen Missstände im Spät-Mittelalter. *Trierer Theolog. Zeitschr.*, Jan.
- ANNELIESE MAIER. Die Borghese-Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana. *Traditio*, VI.
- GEORGE K. BOYCE. Documents of Pope Leo X in the Morgan Library. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LEARNING

- ARTHUR LITTLE. Plotinus and Augustine. *Studies*, Mar.
- VERNON J. BOURKE. An Augustine Revival? *Thought*, June.
- ANGEL CUSTODIO VEGA. Aurelio Prudencio. A propósito del centenario de su nacimiento (348). *La Ciudad de Dios*, Sept., 1948.
- ARTHUR LITTLE. Some Picturesque Philosophers, VII: The Episode of Eriugena. *Studies*, June.
- JOSÉ LUIS ROMERO. San Isidoro de Sevilla: su pensamiento histórico-político y sus relaciones con la historia visigoda. *Cuadernos de hist. de España*, VIII, 1947.
- ROBERT B. WOOLSEY. Bernard Silvester and the Hermetic Asclepius. *Traditio*, VI.
- BEATRICE H. ZEDLER. Saint Thomas and Avicenna in the *De potentia Dei*. *Ibid.*
- H. L. STEWART. Dante and the Schoolmen. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June.
- R. M. T. HILL. Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, and the University of Oxford. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- ALEXANDER BIRKENMAJER. Pierre de Limoges, commentateur de Richard de Fournival. *Isis*, Feb.
- THEODORE SILVERSTEIN. Daniel of Morley, English Cosmognist and Student of Arabic Science. *Med. Stud.*, X, 1948.
- CHARLES C. BAYLEY. Political Philosophy of William of Ockham. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.
- JOSEPHINE W. BENNETT. Causes of the Renaissance. *Renaissance News*, II, no. 1.
- GEORGE SARTON. In Defence of Petrarca's Book on the Remedies for Good and Evil Fortune. *Isis*, May.
- R. WEISS. Lineamenti per una storia del primo Umanesimo fiorentino. *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1948, no. 3.
- PATRICK RUSSELL. Baptist of Mantua, Fifteenth-Century Humanist. *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, XIII, no. 9-12.
- HERMANN KARL WEINERT. Die Entdeckung Amerikas und das kosmographische Weltbild des Mittelalters: Christopher Columbus und Pierre d'Ailly. *Universitas*, 1949, no. 5.

- PAUL O. KRISTELLER. Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: A Bibliography of the Printed Catalogues of Extant Collections. *Traditio*, VI.
 M. H. LAURENT. Alde Manuzio l'Ancien, éditeur de S. Catherine de Sienne (1500). *Ibid.*
 OTTORINO MONTENOVESI. Un gruppo di incunaboli [from Italian presses 1470-1500] nell'archivio di Stato di Roma. *Archiva*, 1949, no. 1.

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE AND ART

- KEMP MALONE. The Text of Beowulf. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, June.
 D. WHITELOCK. Anglo-Saxon Poetry and the Historian. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
 PAUL E. BEICHNER. The *Cursor Mundi* and Petrus Riga. *Speculum*, Apr.
 ROLAND BLENNER-HASSETT. Lawman's London. *Med. Stud.*, X, 1948.
 ROBERT EISLER. Danse macabre. *Traditio*, VI.
 RENÉ NELLI. L'Amour provençal. *Rev. de synthèse*, July-Dec., 1948.
 J. S. PONS. Les Troubadours et la poésie populaire. *Ibid.*
 J. LONGNON. Les Troubadours à la Cour de Montferrat. *Ibid.* [this issue has several other items on the troubadours and Provence].
 J. G. NOPPEN. Building by King Henry III and Edward, Son of Odo. *Antiquaries Jour.*, Jan.-Apr.
 WILHELM BOECK. Michelangelo als religiöser Künstler. *Universitas*, 1949, no. 4.

Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Leland H. Carlson

THE TRAGEDY OF THE LOLLARDS' TOWER: THE CASE OF RICHARD HUNNE, WITH ITS AFTERMATH IN THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, 1529-33: A REVIEW OF EVENTS FROM THE DOWNFALL OF WOLSEY TO THE BIRTH OF ELIZABETH. By *Arthur Ogle*, Rector of East Ilsley, Berks. (Oxford, Pen-in-Hand, 1949, pp. 393, 21s.) The author of this book will be remembered for his able treatise on the canon law in England which he published over thirty-five years ago (1912) and in which he ventured to break a lance with the redoubtable Professor F. W. Maitland himself on the question of the autonomy of the medieval English church. Since the appearance of that book, Mr. Ogle has apparently published little or nothing—nothing, at any rate, to keep his name before English historians. The book under review makes plain that he is still deeply interested in English church history and that he has lost none of his powers of clear thinking and effective writing. The *leit motif* of the book is the conflict between the English Commons and the English clergy, which developed into a dramatic climax during the interval between the mysterious death of Richard Hunne in 1514 and the "Supplication against the Ordinaries" in 1532. Mr. Ogle reappraises the evidence in the Hunne case, disposes of Sir Thomas More's attempt to laugh it off, and points to it as the concrete incident which provoked the Commons in their running fight with the clergy. In deciding that Hunne was murdered, he follows closely the line of reasoning already developed by the late Professor Pollard in his life of Wolsey. Mr. Ogle has not added much that is new, though he has developed the subject at much greater length than Pollard did. One of the interesting by-products of his investigation is the utilization of a manuscript copy of John Purvey's Wyclif Bible, from the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in an attempt to show that this particular manuscript was the very Bible used to demonstrate the heresy of Hunne in his post-mortem trial. His argument on the point is ingenious, and if he has not proved his case he has at least

established a strong presupposition in its favor. Taking the subject as a whole, Mr. Ogle's major interest is in demonstrating that the conflict between Commons and clergy had only a tangential relationship to the famous divorce case, though he admits that Henry's desire to get rid of Catherine and to marry Anne provided a situation in which the Commons could command the sympathy of the king. For Mr. Ogle the "submission" of the clergy in response to the "supplication" of the Commons marked a new experiment in Catholicity, in which the laity claimed and established their claim to a share in making the laws ecclesiastical as well as secular which governed them. His final note is one of complete approval, in which his Roman Catholic readers can hardly be expected to concur. Although this has little to do with his argument, it does indicate a definite interest on his part to emphasize separation of the events which led to the establishment of the Anglican Church on a national basis from the unsavory details of Henry VIII's private desires and private passions.

CONYERS READ, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE POWERS OF THE CROWN IN SCOTLAND: BEING A TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY, OF GEORGE BUCHANAN'S "DE JURE REGNI APUD SCOTOS." By *Charles Flinn Arrowood*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1949, pp. xi, 150.) George Buchanan was one of the most influential men of his own day in Scotland, and was destined to have a very considerable influence on the thinking of succeeding generations. It is good, therefore, that an adequate modern translation of his work on constitutional theory has been published. Recently there have been a number of works published dealing with Puritan political thought. One of their weaknesses has sometimes been the lack of emphasis upon Buchanan's *De Jure*, which was similar to Ponet's or Cartwright's treatises in helping to frame Puritan political thinking. One of the questions which arise, however, in reading Arrowood's introduction, and the work itself, is the work's relation to Calvin's views. The editor seems to feel that Buchanan is in conflict with Calvin's position (pp. 23 f.). It would seem, however, that Calvin's views concerning the possibility of the "ephors" removing an unjust ruler is adopted and applied practically by the Scottish theorist. There might also be considerable room for disagreement with Buchanan when one comes to consider his views on Scottish political history. Scottish kings were not limited nearly so much by fear of law and the people, as by the fear of faction and assassination. Buchanan's attempt to prove Scotland a constitutional monarchy simply does not hold water. Consequently, while from the point of view of history the treatise is important, from the point of view of historicity it does not carry too much weight.

W. STANFORD REID, *McGill University*

THE HANOVERIANS, 1714-1815. By *V. H. H. Green*. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1949, pp. 509, \$2.75.) This volume is a brief survey of English history in the eighteenth century, intended as a textbook for English students "whether at school, training college or university" and as an introduction to the period for the general reader. It is based on a solid core of political history, beginning with a description of the constitution in the eighteenth century and running through the traditional topics of eighteenth century political history from the establishment of the Hanoverians to Britain at war with the French Revolution and Napoleon. Interspersed between these chapters are others on the beginnings of the agricultural and industrial revolutions (chapter ix), the religious movements associated with the Wesleys and the evangelicals (chapter x), and the development of the British Empire from 1714 to 1815 (chapter xii). All this is commonplace enough, but what is unusual in a book

of this sort is the exceptional beauty of Mr. Green's English style, which is in perfect accord with his eighteenth century matter. The further excellence of Mr. Green's work lies in the freshness of his approach which leads to questioning of accepted accounts, in the wealth of new illustrative material which is introduced, and in the use of the results of monographic research such as the work of Basil Williams and of L. B. Namier. In spite of many fine qualities in the work there seems to be a kind of hesitancy in discarding traditional views completely. Thus the treatment of the duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham is much more just than older accounts based on Horace Walpole, Lord Hervey, and Lord Macaulay, without, however, freeing itself from their corrosive observations. The elder Pitt is treated traditionally enough even though he is livened up by being compared to Winston Churchill, perhaps not altogether happily in view of the fact that Pitt presided over the creation of the British Empire rather than its dissolution. The treatment of the American Revolution is deft but it is scarcely satisfactory to say that the separation of the colonies was the inevitable result of the circumstances of English and American conditions without considering many other factors which entered into the matter. It is coming to be the opinion of certain publicists of the present time that history ought to inculcate patriotism. Mr. Green is on the side of those angels. For in spite of seeming objectivity he is really a subtle propagandist for the greatness of British policy, the rightness of British acquisitions of territory, and the soundness of the British point of view. He imparts the sense that Britain's enemies were always wrong, that while there was something sinister about French imperialism British imperialism was all sweetness and light, and that British statesmen, however befuddled in domestic policy, always had the right of it in foreign affairs. Because of the prevalence of these points of view, the volume will have only slight appeal for use in American university classes.

F. C. DIETZ, *University of Illinois*

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1760-1830. By T. S. Ashton, Professor of Economic History in the University of London. [The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 204.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 167, \$2.00.) Professor Ashton's contribution to the Home University Library will no doubt serve well the purpose of the publishers of that series. Certainly the author has garnered the "fruits of sound learning" on a subject of perennial interest to students in the generic sense as well as those of the academic species. He has for many years made contributions of his own to our knowledge of the epochal changes in England commonly described by the title. He has now made effective use also of the many monographs by others in recent decades. His interpretation of events is well considered and mature. The harsher effects of the changes are viewed in the appropriate setting of earlier conditions and of wartime distortions. An occasional point of view, as for example on the role of the interest rate, may be questioned. But the book is largely a factual summary. The details of earlier industry, technical innovations, capital, labor, changing attitudes, and public policies are woven skillfully into the fabric. The reader derives a sense of the revolutionary effects of the changes and yet of natural sequence and of the somehow expected nature of successive developments. Although designed for "Home University" students, the book should be useful to a wide range of professional students, even to those who are acquainted with the monographic literature. The reader not too well acquainted with the history of the period may find that the introductory chapter overestimates his knowledge; he might profitably begin with the second chapter and view the first as a concluding essay.

WITT BOWDEN, *Washington, D. C.*

JAMES WATT AND THE HISTORY OF STEAM POWER. By *Ivor B. Hart*. [Life of Science Library.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1949, pp. viii, 250, \$4.00.) This account of James Watt is meant for the general public. The first 150 pages are given to Watt's early years and to the history of steam power and Watt's forerunners, such as Papin, Savery, and Newcomen. The last-named certainly produced a sturdy engine; specimens of it were still working in the mines in Germany in the first third of the nineteenth century, as the author might well have noted. The last three eighths of the book deals with Watt's engine and its manufacture. Watt was undoubtedly a mechanical genius and deserves all the credit that came to him in his day and since, but he could thank his lucky stars that Matthew Boulton took him on as a partner; and both were fortunate that not far from their factory in Soho a great ironcaster, John Wilkinson, was able to apply his method for boring cannon to the production of cylinders for their engines. As the author points out, the firm bought parts and assembled the engines much as modern automobile makers do. The more you read about Watt the more the greatness of Boulton as the top industrialist of the eighteenth century stands out. I am glad to note the names of key mechanics, but in the account of infringements the author missed the one dramatic episode: when the partners were sure they had caught Baron Stein, then a young bureaucrat under Frederick the Great, trying to filch their designs by bribing employees. There are other very interesting aspects of the plant at Soho that would have made the account less pedestrian. The drawings of engines, etc., help the nontechnical reader—at least they were meant to. The book will do, but when one thinks of brief accounts of Watt and Boulton, old Samuel Smiles must not be forgotten.

G. S. F.

THE MANAGEMENT OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR, ESPECIALLY DURING THE PERIOD 1880-1914. By *F. Gosses*. Translated from the Dutch by Miss *E. C. van der Gaaft*. (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1948, pp. 172, bound 17.50 fl., unbound 15 fl.) This book deals with the machinery which before 1914 shaped and executed British foreign policy. It covers the relation of the Foreign Secretary to public opinion, the sovereign, the cabinet, and the Prime Minister. Together with a promised sequel on the workings of the Foreign Office it is designed as an aid to those who wish to explore Gooch and Temperley's *British Documents on the Origins of the War* and similar sources for the diplomatic history of the period. It is based largely on the memoirs and biographies of British statesmen, but the author has also leaned heavily on the standard accounts of Bagehot, Low, Lowell, Laski, Muir, Jennings, and Keith. Introductory chapters place the Foreign Secretary and his office against the social and political background of the day. In spite of the advance of political democracy, it was evident that before 1914 the classes still ruled and at the Foreign Office were especially strong. With few exceptions the incumbents were peers who sat in the House of Lords. Even Sir Edward Grey was of the gentry and it was not until the Labour party's advent to office that men of humble birth, such as MacDonald, Henderson, and Bevin, could aspire to this post. The unique position of the Foreign Secretary is emphasized. He was less of the politician and amateur and more of the expert than any of his colleagues. His relations with the Prime Minister were always close. As foreign policy was the business of the whole government, the cabinet took a greater interest in his department than any other. He kept the cabinet aware of developments there by means of a daily "confidential print," so that policy could be discussed with every member well supplied with facts. The author, incidentally, concludes that, contrary to Lloyd George's assertions, under Grey the information supplied to the cabinet left nothing to be desired. The writer emphasizes the fact that, although the authority of the crown continued longer in the field of foreign af-

fairs than elsewhere, any theory of its survival into the present century is only a legend. He also points out that, however slight the power of Parliament may have been in concrete cases, in broad outline foreign policy was always adapted to parliamentary views; and especially when it was a question of the supreme decision on peace or war it was not the government but public opinion embodied in the House of Commons that had the last word.

CARL F. BRAND, *Stanford University*

STATE INTERVENTION IN GREAT BRITAIN: A STUDY OF ECONOMIC CONTROL AND SOCIAL RESPONSE, 1914-1919. By *Samuel J. Hurwitz*, Brooklyn College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 546.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. x, 321, \$4.00.) The author defines the subject of this book as "a study of the impact of the First World War on the role of government in the economy" of Great Britain. He devotes the first fifty pages to a survey of the political history of "The Liberal Decade" preceding the war. In Section II he describes in detail the development of government controls of labor and industry, from the policy of "business as usual" in 1914 to virtual "total control" before the war's end. Expediency, he points out, was the only general guiding principle in the adoption and extension of controls. J. A. Salter aptly described the common pattern: ". . . control was extended step by step by the compelling force of circumstances. It was already almost complete before it was adopted as a deliberate policy. Each new extension was normally undertaken reluctantly as the only method of meeting an immediate emergency." Section III, "The Reaction of the Nation," is devoted largely to the reaction of labor to the war and to wartime controls. The book is equipped with the usual apparatus of scholarship: a substantial index, an extensive bibliography, and voluminous footnotes. This reviewer found the many long textual footnotes distracting from the text itself, and he often wished that they had been omitted or that their substance had been better digested and included in the text. The subject of the book is important and timely, and within the limits he has set Mr. Hurwitz has covered it thoroughly and competently. The very limitations which he has placed upon the subject are, however, the source of an important shortcoming in the book. It does not show how the British experience in wartime economic controls influenced subsequent British policy, and, although Mr. Hurwitz affirms that there are "lessons for our day" in his subject, it does not indicate what the lessons are. In the preface the author states that the former topic is outside the scope of his study, but most of his readers will wish that he had broadened its scope and devoted less time and space to detailed and sometimes repetitious description of the development of controls in the four years of war and given at least his own reflections on their continuing significance.

DAVID H. PINKNEY, *University of Missouri*

THE DIARY OF SIMEON PERKINS, 1766-1780. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *Harold A. Innis*. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume XXIX.] (Toronto, the Society, 1948, pp. xxxiv, 298.) This diary is the most substantial and revealing single source for the history of New England's occupation of Nova Scotia after the expulsion of the Acadians. Its author, a native of Norwich, Connecticut, was a resourceful *entrepreneur*, with useful credit affiliations, who joined the Liverpool settlement on the Atlantic shore in 1762 at the age of twenty-seven and remained to die there, fifty years later. He did so in spite of violent economic fluctuations and a long grueling period of privateering during the American Revolution, both of which made less able or resolute men give up. The terse entries published here (fairly continuous, May, 1766-March, 1780) are cumulatively revealing of the economic, political, and social activities of a characteristic seaport settlement, although the reader needs to

know the tricks and trials of the Revolutionary years in order to interpret scores of cryptic statements made then. Liverpool had aimed to be a fishing port but fairly quickly found lumbering (pine and oak) more profitable and used its superior position to develop shipbuilding, chartering, and maritime trade. Several public offices and complicated private business seem to have necessitated Perkins' diary, but church affairs, mercantile arbitrations, echoes of the outside world and gossip about the local one gave it a variegated flavor. In many ways, its author personified the part of New England expansionism that dominated Nova Scotia after 1710, occupied it after getting rid of most of the Acadians, strove in vain to be treated as neutral in the Revolution, and then tried to replace New England within the surviving empire. Professor Innis' perceptive introduction, supported by page references, establishes the principal themes of the record, but it might have been salutary to be more explicit about why he could not publish it in more complete form. Another three years would have carried Perkins and his town through their losses and unprofitable counterprivateering to the peace. The portion now published deserved slightly more thorough editing and would have been better with a map and with the year printed on each page.

J. B. BREBNER, *Columbia University*

THE GREAT AWAKENING IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1776-1809. By *Maurice W. Armstrong*, Professor of History, Ursinus College. [Studies in Church History, Volume VII.] (Hartford, American Society of Church History, 1948, pp. x, 141, \$3.00.) This careful study is an interesting illustration of how American history overlaps Canadian history. Before the American Revolution and right afterward Nova Scotia was colonized chiefly from New England, and so the church history of Nova Scotia is a projection of that of New England. Most of the pre-Revolutionary migrants were Congregationalists, who established ten churches in the new settlements. The minority were Baptists, who formed four churches; and Presbyterians, who joined with their fellow Scotch-Irish direct from Ulster to organize four other churches. The Church of England, supported by the government, was already there but its adherents were relatively few until the morrow of the Revolution, when the influx of Loyalists trebled the population and seemed about to make this church overshadow any other religious body in the colony. Yet the Baptists, whose churches had all disappeared before the Revolution, were to revive, to absorb the Congregationalists, and to make great inroads upon the Anglicans. Frontier conditions were largely responsible for this outcome. New England Congregationalism was dying in Nova Scotia when the Revolution administered the final blow. By 1775 half the Congregational pulpits were vacant, and the war added to the loss of ministers. With the failure of organized religion, a vigorous unorganized religion sprang up. It was more suited to the needs of the crude social environment, and it provided spiritual compensation for the enforced neutrality of these Yankees. This was "The Great Awakening," the work of Henry Alline, a young man whose schooling had stopped when, as a lad of twelve, he migrated with his parents from Rhode Island. From the commencement of his wandering mission in 1776 until his death in 1785 his impassioned preaching remade the religious life of the province. His Newlight churches, which recall those of New England a generation previously, flourished for another decade. Then ecclesiasticism began to triumph over individualism, and immersion over pedobaptism. The transition from Newlight to Baptist was completed in 1809.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Published by authority of the Minister of the Interior. Edited by *Coenraad Beyers, et al.* Three vol-

umes: Eighth Year, Ninth Year, Tenth Year (1945-47). (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1947-1948, pp. xii, 337; [xi], 495; [xviii], 304, each 12s. 6d. bound, 10s. unbound.) The most industrious and productive centers of historical research in South Africa are, as these and previous volumes indicate, the Afrikaans universities. South African history is especially full of those tangled problems where legality, emotion, ambition, chicanery crowd together to create a controversy so intractable that history labors for generations to seek, not a definitive answer, but simply a clear statement of the issues. Such a controversy was the British annexation of the diamond fields which is here closely studied under the title of the "Annexation of Griqualand West." This is like the problem of the first annexation by the Transvaal in 1877 or the Jameson Raid. Dr. Oberholster has worked fearlessly through a mass of documents. He writes with a sense of order and continuity which do credit to his teachers at the University of Stellenbosch. He makes a genuine effort, often lacking in South African historical writing, to take into account external forces arising in Great Britain or in other parts of the empire, which nevertheless directly influenced South Africa. Such a tangled problem as the annexation of Griqualand West does not lend itself to simple historical conclusions. Dr. Oberholster is still inclined to lay too much individual stress on the effect of diamonds on the British decision to annex the Diamond Fields. Actually, as Dr. Oberholster himself recognizes but does not sufficiently stress, the annexation was a step, arbitrary and legally not altogether defensive, in reconsidering the policy of withdrawal which had begun with the Land River Convention in 1852. (Volume for 1945.) There were periods in the eighteenth century when practically every single employee of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape was a German, and most of them stayed to add their blood to the Huguenot and Dutch who produced the present-day Afrikaner people. This list of approximately 4,000 Germans who came to the Cape between 1652 and 1806 is the most complete list compiled to date. (Volume for 1946.) Can there be a definitive interpretation of the Boer War and its causes? Many years ago a teacher told me that S. R. Gardiner had written the "definitive" history of his chosen period of English history. Few historians today would maintain that there ever can be a definitive, in the sense of a final and complete, interpretation of any period or any problem which, like Stuart England or the Boer War, produced currents that continue to influence modern life. The historical reinterpretation of the Boer War will go on as long as the themes of independence, nationalism, and racial distinctness, which draw their strength from the events of the nineteenth century, are powerful influences in modern South African politics. Since political life in the Union has entered upon a new phase with the defeat of Smuts in the 1948 elections, the time has probably come for another rewriting of the Boer War and its causes. Dr. Maria Hugo's thesis on "The Franchise Problem of the South African Republic" is a well presented and admirably documented statement of the traditional republican case against British intervention in the domestic life of the South African Republic before the outbreak of war. A somewhat inflexible acceptance of the legalistic and juridical arguments for the republican case has its limiting effect on her general conclusions. (Volume for 1947.)

C. W. DE KIEWIET, *Cornell University*

ARTICLES

- MARJORIE OGILVIE ANDERSON. The Scottish Materials in a Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- A. APPADORAI. India's Foreign Policy. *Internat. Affairs*, Jan.
- W. H. G. ARMYTAGE. A. J. Mundella and the Hosiery Industry. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, nos. 1, 2, 1948.

- SYDNEY D. BAILEY. The Path to Self-Government in Ceylon. *World Affairs*, Apr.
- T. BALOGH. Britain's Economic Problem. *Quar. Jour. Ec.*, Feb.
- SAMUEL G. BARTON. The Quaker Calendar. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCIII, no. 1, 1949.
- M. W. BERESFORD. Ridge and Furrow and the Open Fields. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., I, no. 1, 1948.
- WILLIAM H. BOND. Casting Off Copy by Elizabethan Printers: A Theory. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. of America*, XLII, no. 4, 1948.
- G. S. BOZMAN. Some Problems of Indian Emigration. *Asian Horizon*, Winter, 1948.
- ANDREW BROWN. John Locke and the Religious "Aufklärung." *Rev. of Religion*, Jan.
- Id.* Locke's 'Essay' and Bodmer and Breitingen. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, Mar.
- W. L. BURN. Free Trade in Land: An Aspect of the Irish Question. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- DAVID BUTLER. Trends in British By-Elections. *Jour. Politics*, May.
- J. CHALLINOR. The Beginnings of Scientific Palaeontology in Britain. *Annals of Science*, VI, no. 1, 1948.
- JACQUES CHASTENET. La Révolution de Grande-Bretagne. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, Apr.
- S. G. CHECKLAND. The Birmingham Economists, 1815-1850. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., I, no. 1, 1948.
- TH. M. TH. CHOTZEN. Le Livre de Gautier d'Oxford, "L'Historia Regum Britanniae," les "Bruts" Gallois et l'Episode de Lludd et Llevelys. *Études celtiques*, IV, fasc. 2, 1948.
- PAUL GRANT CORNELL. The Alignment of Political Groups in the United Province of Canada, 1854-64. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar.
- KENNETH CHARLES CORSAR. The Surrender of Edinburgh Castle, December 1650. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- PHILIPPE DE COSSÉ-BRISSAC. Robert Blake and the Barbary Company, 1636-1641. *African Affairs*, Jan.
- JAMES CRAIGIE. The *Basilicon Doron* of King James I. *Library*, June, 1948.
- GODFREY DAVIES. Dr. Johnson and Roman History. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May.
- Id.* The Election at Hereford in 1702. *Ibid.*
- HAROLD H. DAVIS. The Military Career of Thomas North. *Ibid.*
- LUCY MARTIN DONNELLY. The Celebrated Mrs. Macaulay. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr.
- DAVID EASTON. Walter Bagehot and Liberal Realism. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Feb.
- H. W. J. EDWARDS. The Union of Wales and England. *Dublin Rev.*, Spring.
- RUTH EMERY. The Blathwayt Papers. *More Books: Bull. Boston Pub. Lib.*, Jan., 1948.
- R. C. K. ENSOR. Some Political and Economic Interactions in Later Victorian England. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- HARRY ESCOTT. Isaac Watts: Nonconformist. *London Quar. and Holborn Rev.*, Jan.
- K. A. ESDALE. The Busts and Statues of Charles I. *Burlington Mag.*, Jan.
- R. BARRY FARRELL. The Planning of Foreign Policy in Canada. *World Politics*, Apr.
- ROBERT FAZY. Le Centenaire de la Hakluyt Society, 1846-1946. *Asiatische Studien*, nos. 1/2, 1948.
- ASTRID FRIIS. Moderne engelsk Historikerskole. Økonomisk Historie. Nogle Aspekter. *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Copenhagen), 1948, no. 3.
- ARTHUR GEDDES. Conjoint-Tenants and Tacksman in the Isle of Lewis, 1715-26. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., I, no. 1, 1948.
- F. W. GIBBS. The Furnaces and Thermometers of Cornelis Drebbel. *Annals of Sci.*, VI, no. 1, 1948.
- JAMES A. GIBSON. Canadian Foreign Policy: A Forward View. *Internat. Jour.*, Spring.
- S. G. GILLAM. The Thomason Tracts. *Bodleian Lib. Rec.*, Aug., 1948.
- Sir JOHN MILNER GRAY. Correspondence Relating to the Death of Bishop Hannington. *Uganda Jour.*, Mar.
- P. C. GREENLAND. British Commonwealth Communications. *Australian Quar.*, Mar.
- RODNEY GREY. South Africa under the Nationalist Party. *Internat. Jour.*, Winter, 1948-49.
- Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS. India and Pakistan: The Second Year. *Asiatic Rev.*, Apr.
- HAROLD A. HANSEN. Opening Phase of the Third Dutch War Described by the Danish Envoy in London, March-June, 1672. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- A. H. HANSON. History and Mr. Toynbee. *Sci. and Soc.*, Spring.
- V. T. HARLOW. Recent Research in Colonial History since 1783. *History*, Feb., June, 1948.

- TIEMANN HERMANN. Eindrücke von Englischen Bibliotheken. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, July-Aug., 1948.
- T. M. HODGES. Early Banking in Cardiff. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, nos. 1, 2, 1948.
- WINTHROP S. HUDSON. Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism. *Church Hist.*, Mar.
- H. G. A. HUGHES. The Bibliography of British Africa and the Co-ordination of African Studies. *African Affairs*, Jan.
- Id.* Bibliography of Recent Publications on Africa. *Ibid.*
- FREDERICK HUNTER. The Origin of the Methodist Quarterly Meeting. *London Quar. and Holborn Rev.*, Jan.
- J. HURSTFIELD. Lord Burghley as Master of the Court of Wards, 1561-98. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XXXI.
- ALBERT H. IMLAH. Real Values in British Foreign Trade, 1798-1853. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov., 1948.
- K. JACKSON. On Some Romano-British Place Names. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXVIII, Parts 1, 2, 1948.
- FRANCIS GODWIN JAMES. Charity Endowments as Sources of Local Credit in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov., 1948.
- A. F. JOHNSON. The King's Printers, 1660-1742. *Library*, June, 1948.
- HENRY DONALDSON JORDAN. The British Cabinet and the Ministry of Defense. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Feb.
- N. R. KER. Thomas Allen's Manuscripts. *Bodleian Lib. Rec.*, Aug., 1948.
- J. A. LA NAUZE. Australian Tariffs and Imperial Control. *Ec. Rec.*, Dec., 1948.
- DOUGLAS LEIGHTON. Canvas and Bookcloth: An Essay on Beginnings. *Library*, June, 1948.
- S. LILLEY. Nicholson's Journal (1797-1813). *Annals of Sci.*, VI, no. 1, 1948.
- JOHN LOFTIS. Richard Steel, Drury Lane, and the Tories. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, Mar.
- ADA K. LONGFIELD. Some Eighteenth Century Advertisements and the English Linen and Cotton Printing Industry. *Burlington Mag.*, Jan.
- JAMES E. MACCOLL. The Party System in English Local Government. *Public Admin.*, Summer.
- EVEN MARSTRAND. Sidney og Beatrice Webb. *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift*, 1948, nos. 5-6.
- HUGH MARWICK. Naval Defence in Norse Scotland. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH. Caroline Chisholm: Australian Pioneer Extraordinary. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Jan.
- DEAN E. McHENRY. The Impact of the C. C. F. on Canadian Parties and Groups. *Jour. Politics*, May.
- C. WILLIAM MILLER. Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. of America*, XLII, no. 4, 1948.
- CHARLES F. MULLETT. Protestant Dissent as Crime (1660-1828). *Rev. of Religion*, May.
- Id.* Toleration and Persecution in England, 1660-89. *Church Hist.*, Mar.
- HILDA NEATBY. The Medical Profession in the North-West Territories. *Saskatchewan Hist.*, Spring.
- GWENDOLYN B. NEEDHAM. Mary de la Rivière Manley, Tory Defender. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May.
- FRANCIS NEILSON. Lord Acton, a Great European. Part I. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Soc.*, Apr.
- MARJORIE NICHOLSON. A Problem in Colonial Government. *Pol. Quar.*, Apr.-June.
- MICHAEL OAKESHOTT. The Political Economy of Freedom. *Cambridge Jour.*, Jan.
- ALBERT OLSEN. Danmark og den engelske Maegling 1848. *Hist. Tids.* (Copenhagen), 1948, no. 3.
- DAVID B. QUINN. Preparations for the 1585 Virginia Voyage. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr.
- Recent Publications Relating to Canada. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar.
- JOHN F. ROGERS. Aims and Limitations of British Planning. *Sci. and Soc.*, Spring.
- Roman Britain in 1947. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXVIII, Parts 1, 2, 1948.
- Cecil ROTH. Edward Pococke and the First Hebrew Printing in Oxford. *Bodleian Lib. Rec.*, Aug., 1948.
- SVEN RYNELL. Det Brittiska Imperiet. *Svensk Tidsskrift*, XXXVI, no. 3, 1949.
- W. SCHENK. The Student Days of Cardinal Pole. *History*, Oct., 1948.
- R. J. SCHOECK. Was Sir Thomas More a 'Roman Lawyer'? *Notes and Queries*, CXCV, no. 10, 1949.

- ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER. India, the United States, and the British Commonwealth. *Calcutta Rev.*, Mar.
- ROBERT SHACKLETON. Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, and the Separation of Powers. *French Stud.*, Jan.
- HUGH SHEARMAN. Recent Developments in Anglo-Irish Relations. *World Affairs*, Apr.
- H. L. STEWART. The Personality of Thomas Hobbes. *Hibbert Jour.*, Jan.
- LAURENCE STONE. The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 1948.
- HENRY SWANZY. Quarterly Notes. *African Affairs*, Jan.
- PHILIPS TALBOT. Kashmir and Hyderabad. *World Politics*, Apr.
- MARGARET R. TOYNBEE. Some Early Portraits of Charles I. *Burlington Mag.*, Jan.
- HENRY TRISTRAM. The Correspondence between J. H. Newman and the Comte de Montalembert. *Dublin Rev.*, Spring.
- WALTER ULLMAN. The Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty. *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan.
- JACOB VINER. Bentham and J. S. Mill: The Utilitarian Background. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, Mar.
- ERIC WILLENZ. The Conservative Party in Britain since 1945. *Social Research*, Mar.
- J. A. WILLIAMSON. Phases of Empire History. *History*, Feb., June, 1948.
- MELVIN C. WREN. The Chamber of London in 1633. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., I, no. 1, 1948.
- Writings on Irish History, 1947. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Sept., 1948.

FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

CARDIN LE BRET (1558-1655) ET LA DOCTRINE DE LA SOUVERAINETÉ. By Gilbert Picot. (Nancy, Société d'Impressions typographiques, 1948, pp. 229.) This excellent monograph fills a definite need in providing the first detailed study of the life and the work of an outstanding French juriconsult of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Cardin Le Bret, seigneur de Flacourt et de Millaubourg. Cardin Le Bret came from a notable family whose political services to the French crown began in the reign of Henry II and continued until the very end of the monarchy. In his long life of nearly a century, Le Bret had a distinguished legal career. During the reign of Henry IV he served as *avocat général* in the Cour des Aides and later in the parlement of Paris; then under Cardinal Richelieu he was entrusted, along with the chancellor Séguier, with the internal administration of France. At the time of Le Bret's death in 1655 he was the *doyen* of the powerful Council of State. In the opinion of the reviewer one of the most valuable sections of Dr. Picot's study is his detailed and critical analysis of Le Bret's *Traité de la Souveraineté du Roy*. With this work as a basis the author has presented a lucid exposition of the various elements of seventeenth century absolutism. A ten-page bibliography, listing both printed and manuscript materials, indicates the thoroughness of Dr. Picot's researches. His work is extensively footnoted throughout. This monograph is a valuable contribution to the study of the evolution of French constitutional thought as it is revealed in a specific body of writings.

BERNARD C. WEBER, *University of Alabama*

AULARD, HISTORIEN DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By Georges Belloni. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, pp. xvi, 193, 400 fr.) Written by a former student of Aulard's who turned from historical research to the novel, this volume displays the accuracy of the historian but the popular and literary appeal of the imaginative writer. Following a personal preface by Albert Bayet, son-in-law of Aulard, Belloni recreates Aulard as a very human professor, public citizen, and a

figure who illustrates the history of the Third French Republic. The book has three parts: the savant in nineteen chapters, the citizen in eleven, and the apostle in fourteen, with an epilogue to republican democrats of France today. Mere enumeration of the multiplicity of chapters demonstrates the form of the book: a series of flashes or sketches about Aulard, each presented with dramatic clarity and convincing unity, which makes the volume absorbing reading. The historian will be most interested in the first part, which breathes the admiration of the student for his "*maître*." Every historian should read chapter v of Part I: "the ten commandments of historical method." All of Part I makes vivid the profound historical research of Aulard, how he did more than any other single individual to form an entire generation of French scholars, and how he made the French Revolution a part of the intellectual heritage of the Third French Republic, and indeed, as Belloni recognizes, of subsequent democratic thought. Aulard's training as historian, his evolution as professor at the Sorbonne, his historical conclusions, his ideals as savant, are cogently described. The book also attests Aulard's keen sense of humor, his generosity, his idealism. Belloni refutes Aulard's critics in respect to his attitude toward Danton, and also charges of hostility to religion. One may almost say that "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was the religious faith that Aulard held, preached as historian, and perpetuated in his writings. Aulard entered into the political life of his times, without sectarian or partisan view, and interpreted history through the present. He was a republican, a democrat, and, parallel with his humanitarian patriotism toward France, was his advocacy of world peace and the League of Nations. His warnings, drawn from history, passed too often unheeded by contemporary politicians. Aulard emerges as a live personality and a great historian. The reviewer hopes that the biography will stimulate again the study of the French Revolution, based upon Aulard's historical methods, and revive again France's Revolutionary heritage.

B.F.H.

THE TIGER OF FRANCE: CONVERSATIONS WITH CLEMENCEAU. By *Wythe Williams*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949, pp. x, 315, \$4.50.) This unpretentious volume is a readable and colorful addition to the long list of works on the Tiger. It comes from the hand of a veteran American newspaper reporter who first met Clemenceau in 1913. Meeting developed into friendship, friendship ripened into intimacy, and intimacy, at least on Mr. Williams' side, converged upon idolatry. Not that Clemenceau could not be wrong; he simply was not, and the author has him on the side of the angels in the tremendous polemics and feuds that marked his public life. But the author grants that in private life not even his Tiger was completely domesticated. If this book makes no contribution to the record, it is only fair to point out that Mr. Williams makes no effort in that direction. The author's concern is with Clemenceau's version of what happened. No doubt the conversations, as reproduced from notes, are not invariably letter accurate, but that is not particularly important, for the spirit of the Tiger animates the words anyhow. Covering a wide range of deeds and persons—the great figures of national life and also relatives and domestics—and enlivened by little touches of atmosphere such as one could expect from a careful reporter, the book is thoroughly honest, and unusually modest on the part of the writer, who was obviously liked and trusted by his hero. It gives us a Clemenceau in the raw, so to speak. While it conveys to the reader a keen sense of his extraordinary personality, it also does much to indicate the terrific impact that this republican cyclone made upon his countrymen through his passionate likes and hates, his ferocity of temper, his lacerating wit, his great moral and physical courage, his disillusionment in man and his love for France.

LEO GERSHOY, *New York University*

ARTICLES

- HENRI BORDEAUX. Le mariage de Saint Louis. *Rev. des deux mondes*, Apr. 15.
 G. MOLLAT. Les origines du gallicanisme parlementaire aux ^{xiv}^e et ^{xv}^e siècles. *Ibid.*
 FERDINAND LOT. L'évolution des communes françaises. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.-Mar.
 PIERRE GAXOTTE. La restauration économique sous Henri IV. *Rev. des deux mondes*, Dec. 15.
 ROLAND MOUSNIER. Le testament politique de Richelieu. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.-Mar.
 M. DE SAINT-AULAIRE. La paix de Westphalie. *Rev. hist. de l'armée*, Sept., 1948.
 JACQUES KEYSER. Le tricentenaire des traités de Westphalie. *Synthèses*, 1949, no. 9.
 ANDRÉ ROUSSEAUX. La crise spirituelle de 1700 à 1900 [contains information on Voltaire]. *Les cahiers de Neuilly*, no. 15.
 RENÉ CASSIN. Montesquieu et les droits individuels. *Ann. de l'Univ. de Paris*, Jan.-Mar.
 B. MIRKINE-GUETZÉVITCH. Quelques réflexions sur "L'esprit des lois." *Rev. polit. et parl.*, June.
 PIERRE CASTEX. La pensée politique de J. J. Rousseau. *Rev. socialiste*, Jan.-Mar.
 J. MERCIER. Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Les cahiers de Neuilly*, no. 14.
 G. LEFEBVRE. Le despotisme éclairé. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Apr.-June.
 G. DEBIEN. Un effort nouveau à Haïti. *Ibid.*
 J. VIDALENC. Les volontaires nationaux dans le département de l'Eure. *Ibid.*
 M. LECOQ. La vie paysanne dans un coin du Perche. *Ibid.*, Jan.-Mar.
 G. LAURENT. La représentation du département de la Marne à la Convention nationale. *Ibid.*, Oct.-Dec.
 J. GIGOT. Visite à Chaumont du représentant du peuple Ruhl en 1793. *Les cahiers Haut-Marnais*, Jan.-Feb., Mar.-Apr.
 E. CAMPAGNAC. La légende dantonienne. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Jan.-Mar.
 MARC BOULOISEAU. Notes sur la police parisienne en l'an III. *Ibid.*
 J. BELIN. Monge, sociologue criminaliste. *Ibid.*
 MAURICE SCHOFIELD. Laplace: The Newton of France. *Contemp. Rev.*, June.
 G. P. GOOCH. Marie Theresa and Marie Antoinette [VIII-IX]. *Ibid.*, May, June.
 ROBERT B. HOLTMAN. The Catholic Church in Napoleonic Propaganda. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
 Général J. REGNAULT. Les nominations dans la Légion d'honneur de 1802 à 1816. *Rev. hist. de l'armée*, Mar.
 LOUIS MADELIN. Moscou 1812. *Rev. des deux mondes*, May 1.
 J. DAUTRY. Sur un imprimé retrouvé du Comte de Saint-Simon. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Oct.-Dec.
 MARCEL REINHARDT. Chateaubriand et la question constitutionnelle au début de la première restauration. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.-Mar.
 MIS DU FOUR DE LA LONDE. Le Paris de 1840. *Le monde français*, June.
 J. B. DUROSELLE. L'attitude politique et sociale des catholiques français en 1848. *Rev. d'hist. de l'église de France*, 1948.
 J. POMMIER. La tragédie de 48. *Rev. des sciences humaines*, July-Dec., 1948.
 Articles on Revolutions of 1848. *Études d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, 1948.
 EDOUARD DOLLÉANS. Louis-Auguste Blanqui. *Critique*, Mar.
 Dr. PIERRE VALLERY-RADOT. À propos d'un centenaire (1849-1949), les hôpitaux parisiens. *Rev. des deux mondes*, Jan. 15.
 TONY SAUVEL. Les origines des commissaires du gouvernement auprès du conseil d'état statuant au contentieux. *Rev. du droit public et de la science polit.*, Jan.-Mar.
 DAVID S. LANDES. French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the Nineteenth Century. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, May.
 ARTHUR L. DUNHAM. The Economic History of France, 1815-1870 [bibliographical article]. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
 MARGARET G. MYERS. The Nationalization of Banks in France. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.
 ALBERT MILHAUD. Le centrisme et la tradition republicaine. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, June.
 FRANCISQUE VARENNE. Clemenceau devant ses électeurs du Var. *Ibid.*, Apr.
 Capitaine GARROS. Préludes aux invasions de la Belgique. *Rev. hist. de l'armée*, Mar.
 Général WEYGAND. La voix de Foch. *Ibid.*, Dec.
 Général DE LATTRE. Foch. *Rev. des deux mondes*, Feb. 15.
 ANDRÉ DE LABOULAYE. Un grand diplomate: J. J. Jusserand. *Ibid.*, July 1.

- HEINRICH BARON. Le secret de septembre 1938. *Documents*, Feb.
 MARCEL DONOSTI. La conférence de Munich. *Rev. des deux mondes*, Feb. 15.
 RENÉ LA BRUYÈRE. Questions actuelles—La renaissance du pavillon national [on the French fleet, 1939 and today]. *Ibid.*, May 1.
 JACQUES LACOUR-GAYET. Le débordement législatif (1935-49). *Ibid.*, June 15.
 DAVID INGBER. Général de Lattre de Tassigny. *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec.
 Sir JOHN POLLACK. Of Things French. *Ibid.*, May.
 Le pacte atlantique. *Esprit*, May.
 RENÉ PINON. Questions diplomatiques.—Le pacte de l'Atlantique nord. *Rev. des deux mondes*, June 15.

DOCUMENTS

- JACQUES DE RICAUMORT. Victor de Mortemart et la cour de Napoleon I^{er}. *Rev. de Paris*, Feb.
 FLEURIOT DE LANGLE. Le portefeuille de Talleyrand. I, Fouché. II, Correspondance avec l'empereur. *Rev. des deux mondes*, May 15, June 1.
 GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Carnets. I, 1893-95, II, France, Russia, Allemagne (1895). *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 15.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

HISTOIRE DU GRAND-DUCHÉ DE LUXEMBOURG. By *Paul Weber*, Professeur à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. [Collection Lebègue, 9me Série, No. 97.] (Brussels, Office de Publicité, 1949, pp. 74, 35 fr.) Baedeker's, Cook's *Guide* and seven other fleshless items are all the entries to be found in the United States catalogue dealing with Luxembourg, and in five of these Luxembourg is treated in an ". . . and . . ." manner—i.e., *Luxembourg and Her Neighbors* or *Belgium and Luxembourg*. Therefore, the work by Professor Weber seemed to fill an important lacuna. A perusal of the impressive-sounding *Histoire* evokes disappointment because of its brevity (the so-called five chapters average less than fifteen pages, yet the work begins with "Les Origines" and ends with 1944). It is also disappointing because the reader would never suspect that the Luxembourgais ever had a will or ideas, interests or inclinations until the last eight pages of the book when the Nazi terror begins. From the pre-Christian era until 1944 Weber's *Histoire* delineates the labyrinthine fortunes of the rulers; the political, economic, religious, literary, and artistic endeavors of the people are completely ignored. Perhaps they were of no moment to the rulers throughout these centuries. These endeavors are yet to be described. Or does Belgian Professor Weber feel that his task is done with the statement about "minuscule Luxembourg's" being a "sister nation" of Belgium? One wonders, then, whether Luxembourg will rate even more meager treatment as a member of Benelux.

LOUIS KESTENBERG, *University of Houston*

NETHERLANDS

ARTICLES

- W. J. FORMSMA. Vormen van bestuur ten plattelande in de noordoostelijke provincies vóór 1795. *Bijdr. gesch. Ned.*, III, no. 3-4, 1949.
 E. BRUNA, O.F.M. De missie van de Minderbroeders in Friesland in de xvii^e eeuw. *Bijdr. gesch. prov. Minderbroeders in de Ned.*, V, 1948.
 C. J. G. L. VAN DEN BERGH VAN SAPAROE. De tragedie op het eiland Saparoea in het jaar 1817 tijdens den opstand in de Molukken. *Bijdr. taal-, land- en volkenk.* *Ned. Indië*, CIV, no. 2-3, 1948.
 G. VAN ALPHEN. Anthony Smets, bibliothecaris van drie prins van Oranje, 1636-1689. *Het boek*, XXIX, 1948.
 J. H. KERNKAMP. De reis van prins Willem III naar Engeland in het jaar 1670. *Ibid.*

- LUIS GARCIA ARIAS. Cornelio van Bynkershoek. Su vida y sus obras. *Bol. Univ. de Santiago de Compostela*, no. 49-50, 1947-48.
- E. H. TER KUILE, J. A. L. BOM, and C. J. M. VAN DER VEKEN. Oorlogsschade aan monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst in Nederland. *Bull. Ned. oudhdk. bond*, 5th ser., I, 1948.
- R. VAN LUTTERVELT. Korte geschiedenis van de monumenten in de Vechtstreek. *Ibid.*, May.
- P. GEYL. Een Oranje in ballingschap. *Gids*, June.
- C. W. ROLDANUS. Gerard Johannes Vossius. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- S. J. FOCKEMA ANDRAEAE. Montesquieu en Nederland. *Hand. 20ste Ned. philologen congres* (Leiden), Apr. 1-2, 1948.
- J. C. VAN DER DOES. Het beleg van Bergen op Zoom in 1747. *Historia*, Feb.
- P. EM. JANSSEN. Strijd rondom een koningsvrouw [King William I and the Countess d'Oultremont]. *Ibid.*, Mar.
- B. M. DE JONGE VAN ELLEMEET. De Fransche tijd. *Ibid.*, Apr., May.
- J. Z. KANNEGIETER. Litteratuur over Amsterdam. *Ibid.*, Mar.
- GERDA H. KURTZ. Het Leprooshuis bij Haarlem en wat daaruit groeide in latere jaren. *Ibid.*
- F. MULLER VAN BRAKEL. Johan de Witt op de vloot. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- J. VERSEPUT. Ongeregeldheden te Middelharnis in het jaar 1809. *Ibid.*, Dec., 1948.
- WILLY ANDREAS. Johan Huizinga (7. Dezember 1872-1. Februar 1945). Ein Nachruf. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, Apr.
- C. K. POTT. Holland-German Literary Relations in the 17th Century: Vondel and Gryphius. *Jour. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XLVII, 1948.
- HAROLD A. HANSEN. Opening Phase of the Third Dutch War Described by the Danish Envoy in London, March-June, 1672. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- De April-Meistaking 1943. Drie kaarten over het verloop van het massaal verzet. *Nederland in oorlogstijd*, June.
- "Festung" Amsterdam. *Ibid.*
- Hanns A. Rauter—persoon en daden. *Ibid.*, Mar.
- B. M. DE JONGE VAN ELLEMEET. De organisatie der Utrechtse Gereformeerde kerken voor de invoering der Dordtse kerkenorde. *Ned. arch. kerkgesch.*, XXXVI, no. 4.
- D. NAUTA. Wezel (1568) en Emden (1571). *Ibid.*
- ELISABETH C. M. PRINS. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Koninklijk zegel der Nederlanden, alias het Rijks- of Staatszegel, 1814-1948. *Ned. leeuw*, July.
- Id. Verliezen van archieven, 1940-1945. *Ibid.*, Aug., 1948.
- J. VISSER. Eenige nieuwe gegevens over de kwartieren van Maurits graaf van Nassau-La Lecq. *Ibid.*, July, 1948.
- W. DE VRIES. De Van Rensselaers in Nederland. *Ibid.*, May, July, 1949.
- L. J. BOL. Philips Angel van Middelburg en Philips Angel van Leiden. *Oud Holland*, LXIV, no. 1, 1949.
- EDOUARD SILZ. La Hollande et la crise du relèvement européen. *Politique étrangère*, Aug., 1948.
- I. J. BRUGMANS. De Oost-Indische compagnie en de welvaart in de Republiek. *Tijdschr. v. gesch.*, LXI, no. 3-4, 1948.
- LEONIE VAN NIEROP. Rensselaerswyck, 1629-1704. *Ibid.*
- J. POTHAST. Hendricus Goltzius. *Ibid.*
- L. M. ROLLIN COUQUERQUE. Instelling van een Rijkspostbedrijf (1798-1801). *Ibid.*
- S. J. FOCKEMA ANDRAEAE. Het Rotterdamse oproer van 1690. *Tijdschr. strafrecht*, LVII, 1948.
- N. VAN MEETEREN. Bonaire in het begin der negentiende eeuw. *West Indische Gids*, Mar., Apr.
- FRED OUDSCHANS DENTZ. Geschiedkundige aantekeningen over het culturele leven in Suriname. *Ibid.*, Feb.
- PH. A. SAMSON. Uit de geschiedenis van de Surinaamse balie. *Ibid.*, June.
- Id. Voorrechten, aan de Joden in Suriname verleend. *Ibid.*, May.

DOCUMENTS

- P. GERLACH, O.F.M.Cap. Stukken betreffende de opleiding der geestelijkheid in de Hollandse missie. *Arch. gesch. Aartsbisdom Utrecht*, LXVII, 1948.
- C. H. DE GOEJE. Een verslag van den commandeur der kolonie Essequibo Pieter van der Heyden

Rezen aan de Kamer van Zeeland der West-Indische compagnie over den aanval van Franse kapers in 1709. *West Indische Gids*, Feb.

BELGIUM

ARTICLES

- LOUIS, comte DE LICHTERVELDE. Coutumes de la monarchie constitutionnelle: Le Roi et le Parlement. *Acad. Roy. Belg., Bull. cl. lett. et sci. mor. et pol.*, 5th ser., XXXV, no. 1, 1949.
- GASTON DAVENNE. Un incident diplomatique entre Liège et La Haye à propos des protestants liégeois (1593-1594). *Acad. Roy. Belg., Bull. Comm. Roy. d'Hist.*, CXIII, no. 3, 1948.
- M. DIERCKX, S.J. Recherches sur la seconde moitié du 16^e siècle aux archives de Besançon, Rome, Madrid, l'Escurial et Simancas. *Ibid.*
- CARLOS WYFFELS. Een Antwerpse zeeverzekeringsspolis uit het jaar 1557. *Ibid.*
- ALICE DUBOIS. Les statuts du Chapitre Cathédral de Saint-Lambert à Liège. *Ibid.*, no. 4.
- LUCIEN FEBVRE. Pour connaître le passé belge. *Annales*, Apr., June, 1948.
- J. DHONDT. Essai sur l'origine de la frontière linguistique. *Antiquité classique*, XVI, 1947.
- J. CRAEYBECKX. De organisatie en de konvooiering van de koopvaardijvloot op het einde van de regering van Karel V. *Bijdr. gesch. d. Ned.*, III, no. 3-4, 1949.
- D. GROSEIDE. De Maatschappij "Tot nut van 't Algemeen" in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. *Ibid.*
- TH. DE MOLDER. De bibliotheek van Jan van Renesse, heer van Oostmalle, in 1561. *Bijdr. t. d. gesch., bijzonderlijk v. h. oud hertogdom Brabant*, 3d ser., I, 1948.
- J. DHONDT. Woelingen te Gent in 1848. *Hand. Maatsch. gesch. oudh. Gent*, n. r., III, no. 1, 1948.
- H. VAN WERVEKE. De Gentse vleeshouwers onder het Oud Regime. Demografische studie over een gesloten en erfelijk ambachtsgild. *Ibid.*
- F. BAUDOUIN. Belgische en Nederlandse kunstenaars in Beieren (16^e-18^e eeuw). *Hand. 17^e Vl. Filologencongres* (Leuven), Sept., 1947.
- A. COSEMANS. Bestuur en verfransing van Vlaams-België in de 17^e en 18^e eeuw tot 1830. *Ibid.*
- J. G. VAN DILLEN. De invloed van de Zuidnederlandse immigratie op de bloei van Amsterdam in de eerste helft van de 17^e eeuw. *Ibid.*
- J. LEFÈVRE. De hogere koninklijke magistratuur in de 18^e eeuw. *Ibid.*
- L. TH. MAES. De humaniteit der scabinale magistratuur onder het Ancien-Régime. *Ibid.*
- A. L. E. VERHEYDEN. Het Mennisme: een schier onbekend aspect van de Hervorming in het Vlaamse graafschap. *Ibid.*
- CH. VERLINDEN. Hoe lang duurde de economische crisis in Vlaanderen onder Filips II? *Ibid.*
- L. VAN DER ESSEN. Een punt van methode betreffende de studie van den opstand der Nederlanden in de 16^e eeuw. *Med. K. Vl. Acad. v. België, Kl. lett.*, X, no. 3, 1948.
- FL. PRIMS. Antwerpse stadsschulden in Duitsland in de 16^e eeuw. *Ibid.*, no. 2.
- Id.* De Oostenrijkse restauratie te Antwerpen in 1791. *Ibid.*, no. 5.
- J. W. BOSCH. Enige rechtshistorische aantekeningen over Zuid-Nederlandse juridische invloeden in het Noorden. *Rechtskundig weekblad*, May 2, 1948.
- J. ANDRIESEN. Nederlands gemeenschapsbesef bij enkele geestelijke auteurs van einde 16^e en begin 17^e eeuw. *Rev. belge philol. et hist.*, XXVI, no. 4, 1948.
- Lettres à la reine Louise des Belges (1848-1850). *Rev. des deux mondes*, Dec. 15, 1948, Mar. 15, 1949.
- J. IMBERT. La centralisation administrative de Joseph II et les établissements hospitaliers belges (1787-1789). *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XLIV, pts. 1-2, 1949.
- G. VAN ZUYLEN. La répression du protestantisme et la réforme catholique sous Corneille de Berghes et Georges d'Autriche, 1538-1557. *Rev. ecclés. de Liège*, XXIV, 1948.
- JEAN BOELS. La campagne des 18 jours. Confrontations. *Rev. gén. belge*, Apr.
- L. VAN DER ESSEN. Le rôle de l'Université de Louvain au 16^e siècle. *Ibid.*, May.
- J. LEFÈVRE. Le grand conseil de Malines. *Ibid.*, July.
- FRANÇOIS VERMEULEN. Proscrits français à Bruges (1852-1859). *Ibid.*, Apr.
- W. J. VAN HOBOKEN. Een Hoornsche scheepsbemanning in krijgsgevangenschap te Oostende. *Tijdschr. v. gesch.*, LXI, no. 3-4, 1948.
- HANS VAN WERVEKE. De curve van het Gentse bevolkingscijfer in de 17^e en de 18^e eeuw. *Verh. K. Vl. Acad. van België, Kl. lett.*, X, no. 8, 1948.
- J. DHONDT. Boeken over onze geschiedenis in de negentiende eeuw. *Vlaamse Gids*, June.

DOCUMENTS

- V. VERSTEGEN, O.F.M. Het cijns- en renteboek van 1503 van de kerk van Lokeren. *Annalen Oudhdk. kring Land van Waas*, LVI, no. 1, 1948.
- R. VAN OVERSTRAETEN. Avril 1940. Journal d'un conseiller militaire. *Rev. gén. belge*, May.

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

ARTICLES

- C. A. MØLLER. Danish Shipbuilding, from Viking Ship to Diesel Engine. *Dan. For. Off. Jour.*, 1949, no. 1.
- SVEN TUNBERG. Roden och Roslagen [review article on studies by Erland Hjärne]. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), 1949, no. 1.
- A. C. MERCER. The Last Norwegian Invasion of England [Harald Haardraade]. *Norseman*, May-June.
- LAURITZ WEIBULL. Stiftet Skara och dess första biskopar. *Scandia*, 1948-49, no. 1.
- NIELS SKYUM-NIELSEN. Haandskriftet "Ribe Oldemoder." En kritisk studie. *Ibid.*
- BJÖRN COLLINDER. The Lapps and Their Origin. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, June.
- VILKUNA KUSTAA. Frågan om Finnarnas urhem. *Finsk Tids.*, Mar.
- SVEN ULRIC PALME. Byråkratin som historiskt problem; ett nordiskt forskningsproblem. *Scandia*, 1948-49, no. 1.
- JOHN CULLBERG. Från kyrksöcken till storkommun [local government history]. *Svensk Tids.*, 1949, no. 2.
- UNO LINDGREN. 500-årigt kungavapen [the royal coat-of-arms]. *Ibid.*, no. 3.
- SVEN ULRIC PALME. Riksföreståndaren, rådet och den danska frågan våren 1504. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), 1949, no. 1.
- GOTTFRID CARLSSON. Svante Nilssons Finlandsexpedition 1504 och Sören Norby. *Ibid.*
- ARTUR ATTMAN. Freden i Stolbova; en aspekt. *Scandia*, 1948-49, no. 1.
- CURT WEIBULL. Tåget över Balt [in 1658]. *Ibid.*
- HAROLD A. HANSEN. Opening Phase of the Third Dutch War Described by the Danish Envoy in London, March-June 1672. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- RAGNAR KUMLIN. Johan Gyllenstiernas utrikespolitik 1679. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), 1949, no. 1.
- RAFAEL LINDQVIST. De sista Karolinerna; vintertragedien i de norska fjällen år 1719. *Finsk Tids.*, Feb.
- SVEN-ERIK ASTRÖM. Studentfrekvensen vid de svenska universiteten under 1700-talet. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), 1949, no. 1.
- OTTO GRÖNLAND. Pehr Elvius och befolkningsstatistiken åren 1744-1749. *Statsvet. Tids.*, 1949, no. 1.
- S.-E. Å. En österbottensk köpmannadynasti [review article of O. Nikula, *Malmåka handelshuset i Jacobstad* (Helsinki, 1948)]. *Finsk Tids.*, Feb.
- T. J. ARNE. Svenskarne på Rhodos [technicians in the service of the Sultan]. *Nord. Tids.*, 1949, no. 1.
- STURE M. WALLER. Finska arméns reträtt från Tavastehus till Österbotten våren 1808. *Scandia*, 1948-49, no. 1.
- ALBERT OLSEN. Danmark og den engelske mægling 1848. *Hist. Tids.* (Dan.), XI, 2, no. 3.
- HALVDAN KOHT. Den norsk-svenske unionen 1814-1905. *Nord. Tids.*, 1949, no. 1.
- Id.* Kvifor vart det demokrati i dei nordiska landa? *Scandia*, 1948-49, no. 1.
- GÖRAN BONDORFF. Borgerligt finskt partiväsen [1918 to date]. *Statsvet. Tids.*, 1949, no. 2.
- GUNNAR FOUGESTEDT. Återväxten bland Finlandssvenskarna. *Finsk Tids.*, Feb.
- EDVARD WELLE-STRAND. Fra nasifange til statsminister [premier Gerhardsen]. *Gads Dan. Mag.*, Apr.
- CHR. A. R. CHRISTENSEN. Norge i 1948. *Nord. Tids.*, 1949, no. 2.
- WILHELM KEILHAU. Atlanterhavspolitikken. *Samtiden*, 1949, no. 3.
- J. H. JACKSON. Finland since the Armistice. *Internat. Affairs*, 1948, no. 4.

DOCUMENTS

- BJØRN KORNERUP. Om danske studerende i Franeker. *Dan. Mag.*, VII, 4, no. 4.
- ARNE ODD JOHNSEN. Preliminærtraktat av 25. mars 1467 mellom Kong Kristian I og hertugene av Burgund, Bretagne og Normandie. *Ibid.*
- EMILIE ANDERSEN. Forhandlingerne i Assens December 1549 mellem de frystelige brødre Kong Christian III og hertugerne Hans, Adolf og Frederik. *Ibid.*
- SVEN G. SVENSON. Gatschinatraktatens hemliga artikler 1799 [text in French]. *Scandia*, 1948-49, no. 1.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

THE REINTERPRETATION OF LUTHER. By *Edgar M. Carlson*. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1948, pp. 256, \$3.50.) Students of the history of Christianity in general and of the Reformation in particular will welcome this scholarly analysis of the fruits of a half century of Swedish scholarship in the field of historical theology. Professor Carlson, the president of Gustavus Adolphus College, maintains that Swedish Lutheranism, which was spared the many controversies experienced by Protestantism in Germany, stands in a closer relation than the latter not only to the medieval church but to Luther's theological position prior to 1518. As a consequence, he feels, the Swedish scholars, particularly those connected with the University of Lund and led by Bishop Aulén and Professors Anders Nygren and Ragnar Bring, have contributed much toward a clearer understanding of Christianity. The unique contribution of these Swedish scholars is their development of an analytical, "historical-systematic" method of approach which lays particular emphasis upon "motif-research," that is, the search for the central affirmation which gives unity to a system of ideas. By applying this method to the theology of Luther, they have given us the following "re-interpretation" of the reformer: The center of his theology is the personal, theocentric relationship with God through the mediation of Jesus Christ. His own struggles, involving theocentricity as opposed to egocentricity, are part of a cosmic conflict between God and the devil, the solution of which is to be found in the dynamic, dramatic, atoning victory on the cross, which is revealed to man both in history and contemporary experience. In harmony with his dynamic view of revelation, Luther conceives the church as that visible institution through which the Gospel is freely preached and the sacraments are freely administered. The basic motivation for the saving act is God's *agape*, or divine love for man, which overcomes the egocentric *eros* of man when he becomes a believer. Professor Carlson believes that Luther, thus interpreted, has much to offer to the leaders of the evangelical and ecumenical movements of our day.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Ohio State University*

DEUTSCHLAND UND WESTEUROPA: DREI AUFSÄTZE. By *Rudolf Stadelmann*. (Schloss Laupheim-Württemberg, Ulrich Steiner, 1948, pp. iii, 177.) This little volume—a collection of three essays dedicated to Dr. Gerhard Ritter on his sixtieth birthday—does not, as the title might seem to imply, trace the relations of Germany and Western Europe from earliest times to the present. Rather, it confines itself to three aspects of these relationships. In the first essay, entitled "Germany and the Revolutions of Western Europe," Stadelmann attempts to explain the lack of a genuine revolutionary sentiment in Germany. He maintains that the failure to execute a successful revolution on the English or French model was not due, as some historians have pointed out, to the conservative influence of Lutheranism nor to the fact that French Revolutionary ideas were largely carried to Germany by conquering Jacobins

who, like Louis XIV before them, were partly motivated by expansionist ambitions. Repelled by the excesses of the French revolutionists, like Burke in England, many thoughtful Germans, in retrospect, concluded that an enlightened despotism, as practiced by a Frederick the Great or Joseph II, would accomplish more in terms of human freedom than any revolution. The second essay, entitled "Taine and the Political Ideology of the French Bourgeoisie," attempts to disprove the thesis of the French ultra-conservatives that the "revolutionary bacillus," which they regard as responsible for all the confusion and disorder in Europe, was Anglo-German in origin. After carefully tracing the growth of Taine's political ideas, the author points out to what extent French conservatism was influenced by English liberals and German historians. The final essay, "The Epoch of Anglo-German Naval Rivalry," surveys the origin, course, and disastrous consequences of Tirpitz's naval policies. Stadelmann explodes the legend that Bismarck in 1891 had given his consent, in the main, to the enlargement of the German navy along the lines suggested by Tirpitz. He shows that the admiral's military approach to naval strategy and his lack of political insight and foresight ultimately led to the most tragic results. It was "Tirpitz who threw the stone into the vessel that was already brimful, thereby causing it to overflow. . . . It was he who made Germany's position unbearable in the circle of the great powers of Europe" (p. 119). The three essays are clearly written, fully documented, and definitely stimulating.

RICHARD H. BAUER, *University of Maryland*

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. Edited by *Gabriel A. Almond*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, pp. viii, 345, \$4.00.) This symposium devotes three chapters to the history of liberal forces in Germany prior to VE Day and four to the policies followed by the occupying powers in the fields of economics, governmental organization, political parties, and cultural reorientation. The authors—Eugene N. Anderson, Wolfgang H. Kraus, Gabriel A. Almond, Fred H. Sanderson, Hans Meyerhoff, Vera F. Eliasberg and Clara Menck—"in most cases . . . shared in common or related work during the war years," presumably in the Department of State or the Office of Strategic Services. Their discussion of an extremely complicated and controversial subject is temperate and well balanced. They do not yield to the temptation to overestimate the strength of the liberal and resistance elements in pre-1945 Germany, nor do they unduly magnify the difficulties of the task the occupying powers set themselves when they undertook to make a peaceful and a democratic Germany. Professor Anderson, for example, in his historical survey rightly emphasizes the manner in which Bismarck put his stamp on modern Germany but at the same time the author makes quite clear the importance of the liberal opposition to the Iron Chancellor, especially before 1870. Aside from its value as a scholarly summary of current research and recent developments in its field, the outstanding feature of the volume, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the chapter on cultural reorientation contributed by Clara Menck, one of the editors of *Die Neue Zeitung*, U. S. Zone. Written from the standpoint of one of the objects of our "re-education" efforts, it shows that as yet the occupying powers have accomplished little if anything of lasting value and that, in fact, we have made scarcely any effort worthy of the richest nation in the world. Three years after the occupation she could still write, "In the British and American zones the size of editions [of newspapers] is greatly limited by the scarcity of newsprint. . . . Many of the papers can appear only two or three times a week and consist only of four to six pages" (p. 299). It is difficult to resist her conclusion (p. 306) that "the struggle for democracy in Germany will only begin in earnest when normal conditions of life provide opportunities for a genuine 'grass roots' democracy. These conditions will only be present when

there is no longer an irreconcilable conflict between the desperate physical needs of the individual and his duties as a citizen."

MARSHALL KNAPPEN, *University of Michigan*

THE AFRICAN MANDATES IN WORLD POLITICS. By *Rayford W. Logan*, Chairman, History Department of Howard University. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 220, cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) *The African Mandates in World Politics* is a study of Germany's demands for return of its African colonies. Dr. Logan shows that these demands were formulated fourteen years before Hitler came to power, and that the Communists were the only German political faction to oppose them vigorously and consistently. Although the National Socialist party was "among the strongest advocates of the recovery of the colonies," Hitler personally was more interested in eastward expansion. After he became chancellor, Hitler did raise the colonial issue persistently, but Dr. Logan believes that the pattern of German colonial propaganda was to formulate a demand and then to wholly or partially disavow it if it aroused too much unfavorable criticism in England. Dr. Logan's last chapter is an interesting description of the "new Monroe Doctrine for Africa enforced for the benefit of Germany and Italy" which Hitler planned in anticipation of German victory. Hitler hoped to buy Spanish and French support by offering Spain territory in French North Africa, and promising France territorial compensations at the conclusion of peace with England. Belgium, Britain, and Portugal would have lost their African possessions in this new partition. The author's treatment of the subject contains more summary than analysis. He has described in considerable detail the debates on the German colonial issue in the German, French, and British parliaments. He has also studied the files of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, the *London Times*, and *Le Temps*, and the records of the Nuremberg trials. The book might be more valuable if it devoted greater attention to analyzing the views it describes. Dr. Logan tells us without comment that such able Britishers as Arnold Toynbee (p. 85), Lord Lugard (p. 83), and Lord Hailey (p. 156) spoke in favor of returning colonies to Germany under certain conditions. It would be interesting to have this point of view analyzed in detail. Bryce Wood's book, *Peaceful Change and the Colonial Problem* (New York, 1940), which deals primarily with British reactions to German colonial claims, might have been suggestive to Dr. Logan in this regard. From Dr. Logan's reference to American writers on German colonial claims (p. v) it appears that he overlooked Wood's volume. He also fails to mention Dr. Mary E. Townsend's articles on the subject.

VERNON MCKAY, *Washington, D. C.*

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AUSTRIAN PEASANT, 1740-1798. By *Edith Murr Link*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 544.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 204, \$3.00.) Sound scholarship, a lively style, and occasional bits of whimsical humor characterize this brief but important doctoral dissertation on the improvement in the status of the Austrian peasant during the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. During this half century from 1740 to 1790, the serf-peasant of German Austria ceased in effect to be the subject of a feudal lord and became instead a citizen of the state. The emancipation of these peasants had its origin not so much in the conservative Maria Theresa's concern for this large group of her subjects as in her desire for greater centralization of the government and a more efficient and productive system of taxation. Hence there was no "self-conscious" peasant-reform movement as such. Agrarian reform merely seemed basic and inevitable as an approach to any major governmental reform project. But on this incidental foundation, Joseph II, with his philosophy of equalitarianism and his

determination to do whatever seemed sensible to him regardless of tradition or of the feelings of anyone else, built a structure of almost complete emancipation. The crown of his efforts was a decree of February, 1789, which aimed at a "perfectly equal distribution" of future land taxes and generally freed the peasant from labor services and other burdensome and obnoxious obligations to his landlord. During the process, Joseph earned for himself, among other derisive epithets coined by disgruntled nobles, the title of "Peasant God." But neither this nor other forms of protest had much effect on the policies of the "People's Emperor." Yet before long there did come not only a halt in, but an undoing of, some of Joseph's work. It came as a result of the reaction in Central Europe to the events of the French Revolution and Joseph's own untimely death in 1790. His brother, Leopold II, and his nephew, Francis II, because of a desire to settle the upheaval stirred up by Joseph, because of the exigencies of the foreign situation, and because of personal inclinations soon checked the reform movement. A law of September, 1798, once again officially approved labor service by the peasants, though it left the question of individual commutation to voluntary agreements between lords and subjects. Thus the state gave up its recently acquired role of protector of the peasant and did not reassume it until many years later; but that story is told in Jerome Blum's *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria, 1815-1848*.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM, *Wagner College*

ARTICLES

- KURT GLASER. The So-called German Mind. *Antioch Rev.*, Summer.
 GUSTAV REIMER. Rescued Documents Relating to the History and Genealogy of the Mennonites of Former West Prussia. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Apr.
 HEINRICH MANN. Der König von Preussen. *Neue Rundsch.*, Spring.
 SELMA STERN-TAEUBLER. The Jews in the Economic Policy of Frederick the Great. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Apr.
 KURT STILLSCHWEIG. The Jews of Germany as a National Minority. *Hist. Judaica*, Apr.
 G. P. GOOCH. Maria Theresa and Marie Antoinette (VIII-IX). *Contemp. Rev.*, May, June.
 HEINZ BLUHM. Herders Stellung zu Luther. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Mar.
 E. VERMEIL. L'humanisme de Goethe. *Rev. de lit. comparée*, Apr.-Sept.
 J.-M. CARRÉ. L'Allemagne, la France et l'Angleterre en face de Goethe. *Ibid.*
 F. BALDENSPERGER. Goethe anti-bourgeois. *Ibid.*
 CH. DÉPÉYAN. Goethe et Châteaubriand. *Ibid.*
 E. ERMATINGER. Gottfried Keller und Goethe. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Mar.
 HANS KOHN. The Paradox of Fichte's Nationalism. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June.
 HERBERT AHL. Adalbert Stifter als Politiker. *Deutsche Rundsch.*, Feb.
 EDMUND SILBERNER. Was Marx an Anti-Semite? *Hist. Judaica*, Apr.
 JOHN LESLIE SNELL. German Socialist Reaction to Wilsonian Democracy. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr.
 CHESTER L. HUNT. The Life Cycle of Dictatorship as Seen in the Treatment of Religious Institutions. *Social Forces*, May.
 EDGAR STERN-RUBARTH. Dr. Schacht: The German Talleyrand. *Contemp. Rev.*, Mar.
 HEINZ HOLLDACK. Zur Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges. *Hochland*, May.
 KURT ASSMANN. Stalin and Hitler. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June, July.
 ALEXANDER DALLIN. The Month of Decision: German-Soviet Diplomacy, July 22-August 22, 1939. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr.
 R. RIVET. Le camp allemand dans la fièvre des alertes (1939-1940). *Rev. de défense nationale*, July.
 H. A. DEWEERD. Hitler's Plan for Invading Britain. *Military Affairs*, Fall, 1948.
 B. T. WILSON. A German Account of Stalingrad. *Army Quar.*, Apr., July.
 Die letzte Warnung von der Westfront. Aus den Berichten von Hans Speidel, Generalstabschef

- bei Rommel. *Gegenwart*, no. 87, July 15 [see also Zur innerdeutschen Geschichte 1944 and Hitler in Margival. *Ibid.*, nos. 85 and 86].
- PAUL KLUKE. Der deutsche Widerstand; eine kritische Literaturübersicht [review article]. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, Apr.
- GISBERT BEYERHAUS. Notwendigkeit und Freiheit in der deutschen Katastrophe. Gedanken zu Friedrich Meineckes jüngstem Buch. *Ibid.*
- CARL J. FRIEDRICH. Rebuilding the German Constitution [I]. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.
- ROGER H. WELLS. The German Problem in 1948. *Western Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.
- HANS SCHWANN. L'état d'âme actuel des Allemands. *L'Année pol., écon., et coopér.*, May.
- BERNARD LAHY. L'union européenne et l'opinion en Allemagne occidentale. *Rev. Socialiste*, June.
- HAROLD O. LEWIS. German Social Democracy. *Am. Perspective*, June.
- MATTHEW A. KELLY. Communists in German Labor Organizations. *Jour. Pol. Ec.*, June.
- ALFRED SILBERT. Berlin 1946-1949. *Pol. étrangère*, Aug.
- KARL AUGUST FINK. Biblioteche, archivi, istituti storici e riviste in Germania. *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1948, no. 4.
- SALVATORE FRANCESCO ROMANO. Biblioteche, archivi e riviste storiche in Austria. *Ibid.*
- FRITZ RIETER. Der Schwabenkrieg vor 450 Jahren. *Schweizer Monatsh.*, June.
- V. SCHOLDERER. The Beginnings of Printing at Basel. *Library*, June, 1948.
- ERICH GRUNER. Von der Vermittlung zwischen Revolution und Tradition in der neueren Schweizer Geschichte. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXIX, no. 2.
- RENÉ SECRETAN. La mission d'Henri Monod auprès du tsar Alexandre I^{er} en décembre 1813. *Ibid.*
- EDUARD VISCHER. Ludwig Ross und Wilhelm Vischer. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- J. C. WENGER. A Letter from Wilhelm Reublin to Pilgram Marpeck, 1531. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Apr.
- Villiers de L'Isle-Adam et Richard Wagner: Lettres inédites à Jean Marras. *Rev. de Paris*, July.

ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

ARTICLES

- MARCEL FRANÇON. Les Itinéraires d'Italie et Gargantua. *Ibid.*, June.
- LUIGI FIRPO. Il processo di Giordano Bruno [cont.]. *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1948, no. 4.
- VITTORE BRANCA. Le avanguardie letterarie del Risorgimento. *Ponte*, Jan., 1948.
- GUIDO GONELLA. Aspetti religiosi del Risorgimento. *Vita e pensiero*, Mar., 1948.
- PIERO CHIMINELLI. La poesia religiosa del Risorgimento italiano. *Humanitas*, May, 1948.
- EMILIO CAMBIERI. Musicisti e poeti del Risorgimento. *Boccascena*, Feb., 1948.
- ALFREDO GALLETTI. Il messaggio mazziniano. *Educazione politica*, Oct., 1947.
- GIUSEPPE MARTINOLA. Scritti luganesi di Giuseppe Mazzini. *Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Gesch.*, VI, 1948.
- ALESSANDRO KOLTONSKI. Mazzini e Mickiewicz. *Polonia d'Oggi*, Mar., 1948.
- LUIGI BULFERETTI. Il pensiero sociale del mazziniano Enrico Gentilini. *Rass. stor. Risorgimento*, Apr.-Dec., 1948.
- AGOSTINO BERENINI. Garibaldi. *Eloquenza*, Jan.-Feb., 1948.
- FILIPPO DE JORIO. Guglielmo Pepe. *Seminatore*, Apr., 1948.
- ANTONIO SAITTA. Un socialista-conservatore del Risorgimento: Gabriello Rossi. *Rass. stor. Risorgimento*, Apr.-Dec., 1948.
- LORENZO GIUSSO. Il *Cahier de Philosophie* di V. Gioberti. *Rinascita. Italica*, June.
- FRANCESCO GABRIELI. Saluto al Quarantotto. *Ponte*, Jan., 1948.
- ANTONIO MONTI. Interpretazione del 1848 italiano. *Scuola e vita*, Mar., 1948.
- ALFREDO DE DONNO. Il dramma del Quarantotto. *Critica politica*, Feb.-Mar., 1948.
- LUIGI SALVATORELLI. Quarantotto moderato e democratico. *Ponte*, Jan., 1948.

- LORENZO GIUSSO. Gioberti e il '48. *Mercurio*, Mar.-June, 1948.
 DOMENICO BULFERETTI. Manzoni nel Quarantotto. *Idea*, July, 1948.
 NORBERTO BOBBIO. Il '48 di Carlo Cattaneo. *Minerva*, Dec., 1947.
 CECCARIUS. Il padre Bresciani a Roma cent'anni fa. *Osservatore romano*, April 9, 1948.
 CIRO POGGIALI. Marzo 1848. *Via*, Mar., 1948.
 CESARE SPELLANZON. Le cinque giornate di Milano. *Vie d'Italia*, Mar., 1948.
 GAETANO FALZONE. Il moto palermitano del 12 gennaio. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1948.
 PAOLO ALATRI. L'aspetto militare del '48 siciliano. *Voce garibaldina*, Apr., 1948.
 ERNESTO DE MARCHI. Appunti sul pensiero del Cavour. *Occidente*, Sept.-Dec., 1947.
 P. C. MASINI. Dittatura e rivoluzione nei dibattiti del Risorgimento. *Volontà*, Dec. 1, 1947.
Id. Gli anarchici italiani e le guerre nazionali. *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1948.
 A. CAVALCABÒ. Saggio di bibliografia cremonese per l'anno 1939. *Bol. stor. cremonese*, 1940, no. 3.
 MARIA AVETTA. Teresa Buttini in Girotti [obituary]. *Rass. stor. Risorgimento*, Apr.-Dec., 1948.
 DOMENICO DEMARCO. Gennaro Mondaini [obituary]. *Ibid.*
 ENRICO LIBURDI. Domenico Spadoni [obituary]. *Ibid.*
 P. P. Augusto Sandonà [obituary]. *Ibid.*
 MASSIMO PETROCCHI. Mario Menghini [obituary]. *Ibid.*
 NICOLA CHIAROMONTE. Rome Letter. *Partisan Rev.*, June.
 FELIX PERRIS. Italy: Battlefield for the Marshall Plan. *Harper's*, July.
 GENÈT. Letters from Rome. *New Yorker*, July 9, 30, Aug. 13.

DOCUMENTS

- JOSEPH G. FUCILLA. An American Diplomat [William Short] in Settecento, Italy. *Italica*, Mar.
 PAUL GUICHONNET. Une relation inédite de l'expédition mazzinienne de Savoie en 1834. *Rass. stor. Risorgimento*, Apr.-Dec., 1948.
 SALVO MASTELLONE. Pellegrino Rossi ambasciatore francese a Roma e il problema italiano secondo la corrispondenza particolare. *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1949, no. 1.
 GUIDO QUAZZA. La politica orientale e balcanica del Regno Sardo nel 1848-49 (da documenti inediti). *Rass. stor. Risorgimento*, Apr.-Dec., 1948.
 PIETRO PEDROTTI. Una lettera di Arnaldo Fusinato. *Ibid.*

RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

THE CITY AND THE TSAR: PETER THE GREAT AND THE MOVE TO THE WEST, 1648-1762. By *Harold Lamb*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1948, pp. x, 368, \$4.50.) Harold Lamb's story of Peter the Great, which he calls a "historical narrative" as distinguished from his series of "biographical narratives," adds little to our knowledge and understanding, or general interpretation, of the great ruler and his times, or of his immediate predecessors and followers and their times. The narrative's chief virtue is the author's evident penetration into the spirit of the period and his understanding of some of the principal actors, gained by extensive reading. While Peter's turbulent and erratic personality is on the whole well delineated, it is nevertheless clear that the author's appraisal of Peter's character and reign, as well as of his father's, is based largely on Kliuchevski, a fact which is indeed readily acknowledged in the narrative. Unfortunately, the historical narrative is marred by some rather serious faults. Mr. Lamb, for one thing, seems unable to differentiate between the central and the trivial in historical events. One never would guess from his fragmentized and superficial description the true significance in Russian (and European) history of the Northern War, the individual battles thereof, or the treaties that punctuated it. This is equally true of the long contest with Turkey. The trivia simply drown out the significant. For an obscure reason, the author is particularly chary of dates, so much so that one is tempted to believe that he regards them either as a

superfluity or as a pernicious hindrance. A nonspecialist reader is well advised to keep beside him in reading this book a chronology as well as a chart of the Romanov family, for the story begins with Alexis and concludes with Catherine II. The dates of the treaties of Nerchinsk and of the Pruth and of the battles of Narva and Poltava need to be inferred. It is stated that Peter was proclaimed emperor, but the date of the event must be found elsewhere. On page 264 one is led to believe that Peter's right to name his successor was granted him by the Senate in 1721, but 1722 is the correct date. The reader is hereby advised to resort to the index to determine the tenure of the sundry rulers of the period. Nor is the date of the establishment of the Supreme Secret Council given. An aversion to the use of first names appears to be another of the author's idiosyncrasies. Ostermann is identified in the index as a "young German" and Yaguzhinski as a "follower." Ostermann's contribution to the reorganization of the administration receives, incidentally, little mention. Is it correct to say that the *ulozhenie* of 1649 (cited as "*uluzhenie*"), which was the principal code for two centuries, was "pretty well forgotten" by 1690 (p. 68)? What does "like the clang of Vvestnik" (p. 286) mean? And why "*vudka*" instead of "*vodka*"? "*Lieshy*" in Russian folklore are either giants or dwarfs, but always males and never seductive maidens. "*Schlachta*" is a novel name for some class in Russia described as "officers of service" (p. 307). Matveev's (cited as "Matviev") first name is Artamon not Andrei; his son was named Andrei. His role, besides, is not sufficiently brought out. "Yaghuzinsky" ("Yakhuzinsky" on p. 290) should be "Yaguzhinsky" or "Yagushinsky." The clash between Peter and his son Alexis is inadequately treated, apart from the excessively disjointed nature of the story. No mention is made of the fact that Charles VI of Austria was Alexis' brother-in-law, that Charles had a foreboding of the fate in store for Alexis, and that Peter made threats against Austria. In view of the general use, without italics, of terms such as *siech*, *starshina*, *shapka*, *mir*, *katorga*, and the like, the author might well have appended a glossary. The opening sentence in the foreword reads: "This is a story of a man, a city, and a land." Of the man Peter, much is said, with emphasis on the historically unimportant: of the city, rather little; and of the land, considerably more is related, but in shapeless form.

I. STONE, *Washington, D. C.*

ARTICLES

- MICHAEL KARPOVICH. Sir Bernard Pares. *Russian Rev.*, July.
 MORGAN P. PRICE. Nicholas Berdyaev. *Contemp. Rev.*, June, 1948.
 NICHOLAS ZERNOV. Nicholas Berdyaev: Obituary. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
 DWIGHT MACDONALD. U.S.S.R.: A Layman's Reading List. *Politics*, Spring, 1948.
 A. UDAL'TSOV. Problema proiskhozhdeniia slavian v svete sovremennoi arkheologii [the origins of the Slavs in the light of recent archaeology]. *Voprosy ist.*, 1949, no. 2.
 ARTHUR E. R. BOAK. Earliest Russian Moves against Constantinople. *Queen's Quar.*, Aug., 1948.
 L. R. LEWITTER. Poland, the Ukraine and Russia in the 17th Century. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
 LEO LOEWENSON. The Moscow Rising of 1648. *Ibid.*
 GEORGE H. BOLSOVER. Nicholas I and the Partition of Turkey. *Ibid.*
 DWIGHT MACDONALD. Bureaucratic Culture: Nicholas I and Josef I. *Politics*, Spring, 1948.
 HARVEY WISH. Getting along with the Romanovs. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.
 N. SLADKEVICH. Istoricheskie vzgliady Chernyshevskogo i Dobroliubova [the historical opinions of Chernyshevskii and Dobroliubov]. *Voprosy ist.*, 1949, no. 2.
 A. POGREBINSKII. Istoricheskie vzgliady P. G. Liubomirova [the historical opinions of Liubomirov]. *Ibid.*, no. 3.
 SAMUEL KUCHEROV. The Problem of Constantinople and the Straits. *Russian Rev.*, July.
 L. GAPONENKO. Revoliutsionnaia deiatel'nost' M. V. Frunze na zapadnom fronte v 1917 godu

- [the revolutionary activities of Frunze on the western front in 1917]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 2.
- GEORGE DENICKE. The Origins of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. *Mod. Rev.*, Mar.-Apr., 1948.
- ALEXANDER DALLIN. The Month of Decision: German-Soviet Diplomacy, July 22-August 22, 1939. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr.
- R. IUR'EV. Podgotovka Anglii i Frantsii k napadeniiu na Sovetskii Soiuz s iuga v 1939-1940 godakh [French and English preparation for an assault on the Soviet Union from the south in 1939-40]. *Voprosy ist.*, 1949, no. 2.
- W. J. ROSE. 1918-1948: A Stocktaking. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
- USSR: The Background. *Politics*, Spring, 1948.
- O zadachakh sovetskikh istorikov v bor'be s proiavlenniami burzhuaiznoi ideologii [the tasks of Soviet historians in the struggle against appearances of bourgeois ideology]. *Voprosy ist.*, 1949, no. 2.
- Zadachi sovetskikh istorikov v oblasti novoi i noveishei istorii [the tasks of Soviet historians in the fields of modern and recent history]. *Ibid.*, no. 3.
- M. KIM. Voprosy sozdaniia i razvitiia sotsialisticheskogo mnogonatsional'nogo gosudarstva v trudakh I. V. Stalina [problems concerning the creation and development of a Socialist, multinational state in the works of Stalin]. *Ibid.*
- P. RADCHENKO. The Nationalities Policy of Bolsheviks. *Ukrainian Quar.*, Summer, 1948.
- WALTER KOLARZ. Soviet Pan-Slavism. *Politics*, Spring, 1948.
- G. C. GUINS. The Degeneration of Pan-Slavism. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Sociol.*, Oct., 1948.
- HALYNA SELEHEN. Decline of Population in Soviet Ukraine. *Ukrainian Quar.*, Summer, 1948.
- NIKOLAI S. TIMASHEFF. Postwar Population of the Soviet Union. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, Sept., 1948.
- FRANK ILLINGWORTH. Colonizing the Soviet Arctic. *Contemp. Rev.*, June, 1948.
- NIKOLAI S. TIMASHEFF. Postwar Trends in the U.S.S.R. *Russian Rev.*, July.
- EDGAR L. ALLEN. Authority and Freedom in East and West: The Russian Attitude. *London Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1948.
- FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN. The Soviet Union between War and Cold War. *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Social Sci.*, May.
- JOHN N. HAZARD. Political, Administrative, and Judicial Structure in the U.S.S.R. since the War. *Ibid.*
- MERLE FAINSD. Postwar Role of the Communist Party. *Ibid.*
- ALEX INKELES. Family and Church in the Postwar U.S.S.R. *Ibid.*
- PERCY E. CORBETT. Postwar Soviet Ideology. *Ibid.*
- ABRAM BERGSON, JAMES H. BLACKMAN, and ALEXANDER ERLICH. Postwar Economic Reconstruction and Development in the U.S.S.R. *Ibid.*
- HARRY SCHWARTZ. Soviet Labor Policy, 1945-1949. *Ibid.*
- ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON. Russia's Trade in the Postwar Years. *Ibid.*
- NICOLAS HANS. Recent Trends in Soviet Education. *Ibid.*
- SERGIUS YAKOBSON. Postwar Historical Research in the Soviet Union. *Ibid.*
- C. DALE FULLER. Soviet Policy in the United Nations. *Ibid.*
- C. E. BLACK. Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe. *Ibid.*
- FRANZ L. NEUMANN. Soviet Policy in Germany. *Ibid.*
- HARRY N. HOWARD. The Soviet Union and the Middle East. *Ibid.*
- HAROLD H. FISHER. Soviet Policies in Asia. *Ibid.*
- PHILIP E. MOSELY. Soviet-American Relations since the War. *Ibid.*
- MORGAN P. PRICE. Cold War with Russia and Its History. *Contemp. Rev.*, Aug., 1948.
- NIKOLAI S. TIMASHEFF. Russia and Europe. *Thought*, XXIII, 1948.
- HERBERT L. STEWART. Russo-Canada Relations. *Nat'l Rev.*, Jan., 1948.
- JULES MENKEN. Strategy after Czechoslovakia. *Nat'l Rev.*, Apr., 1948.
- JOHN N. WASHBURN. The Soviet Press Views North Korea. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar.
- V. KOROLIUK, I. MILLER, M. MISKO. Pol'skaia istoricheskaia nauka na VII Vrotslavskom s'ezde 1948 goda [Polish historical science at the seventh Wrocław convention in 1948]. *Voprosy ist.*, 1949, no. 2.
- STEFAN KIENIEWICZ. The Social Visage of Poland in 1848. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
- DIMITRI T. PRONIN. Land Reform in Poland: 1920-1945. *Land Economics*, May.

- R. R. BETTS. The University of Prague: 1348. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
 HAROLD S. BENDER. Anabaptist Manuscripts in the Archives of Brno, Czechoslovakia. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Apr.
 DANIEL RAPANT. Slovak Politics in 1848-49 (Part I). *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
 JURAJ KRŇJEVIĆ. The Croats in 1848. *Ibid.*
 HRISTO TREŇKOV. Bulgarian Bibliography. *Ibid.*

Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF TURKEY, 1481-1512. By Sydney Nettleton Fisher. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXX, Number 1.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1948, pp. 125, cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.50.) The late Professor Lybyer is remembered for his *Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, but he should also be remembered as a leading authority in this country on Near Eastern affairs. Students of the Near East went to the University of Illinois to seek his guidance and to enlist his counsels. For more than a generation he encouraged and guided them in their studies, and this compact work of Professor Fisher is the latest of such studies to be published. It is a detailed account of the reign of Bayezid II, the son and successor of the conqueror of Constantinople. Besides being a well-rounded survey of Turkey's foreign relations for the period, the work may be taken as a biographical sketch of one who is often regarded as "the least significant of the first ten sultans." Yet he who conquered Morea and extended the Ottoman rule to the northern and eastern Balkans, who eliminated Venetian supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean and contributed greatly to the consolidation of his empire, should not be dubbed "the least significant." During more than half of his reign Bayezid II was at war, first with Egypt, then with Venice, and then with Persia; and in all of these his forces were victorious. The war with Venice is dealt with in considerable detail because material on that phase is most abundant. Incidentally this is some proof of the scarcity of Ottoman sources and the indispensability of works in Western languages in the study of Ottoman history. The author has made good use of such works, especially Italian publications. It is well written, but rather confusing is the author's transliteration of Turkish names and words; it is not at all clear whether he is using the orthography now used in Turkey, or is following the system long in use in France, which was used by all Western students.

A. O. SARKISSIAN, *Washington, D. C.*

ARTICLES

- C. R. CHARBONNEAU. Les ports du Maroc. *Tropiques*, June, 1948.
 MOHAMMAD HASSAN GANJĪ. Drought in Qāyenāt [in Persian]. *Yādegār* (Tehran), Sept., 1948.
 G. E. WARD. A Description of Gilan and Baku in 1874. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan.
 LEONARD S. WILSON. Lessons from the Experiences of the Map Information Section, OSS. *Geog. Rev.*, Apr.
 Free Press—Egyptian Style. *New Times* (Moscow), Feb. 16.
 The Governments of Iran from the Beginning of the Constitutional Movement up to Date [in Persian]. *Ettela'at* (Tehran), May 1, 1948.
 The Persian Gulf—a Romance. *Round Table* Mar.
 HIKMET BAYUR. Correspondence between Tipu, Sultan of Mysore, and the Ottoman Sultans Abdul Hamid I and Selim III [in Turkish]. *Belleten* (Istanbul), July, 1948.
 A. M. BELENITSKI. On Social Relations in Iran under the Hulaguids [in Russian]. *Sovetskoe Vostočkovedenie*, V, 1948.

- JEAN COMPTOIS. L'USSR et l'Islam. *Politique étrangère*, Dec., 1948.
- SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD DAHMĀN. The Earthquake of August 25, 1759 [in Arabic]. *Al-Mashriq* (Beirut), June–Sept., 1948.
- A. DEMEERSEMAN. Tunisie '49. *Ibla* (Tunis), 1^{er} trim.
- FAREED S. JAFRI. Modern Iran. *Asiatic Rev.*, Apr.
- AḤMAD SĀMIH AL-KHĀLIDĪ. On the History of Arabic Institutions [in Arabic]. *Al-Abḥāth* (Beirut), Mar.
- V. KRYMSKY. Marshallized Turkey. *New Times*, Feb. 9.
- ERIC MACRO. Yemen: A Brief Survey. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan.
- N. D. MIKLUHO-MAKLAI. On the First Volume of Muḥ. Kāzim's Work [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostočovedeniie*, V, 1948.
- SALĀḤ AL-DĪN AL-MUNAJJID. The Village of Sabinah al-Sharqīyah [in Arabic]. *Al-Mashriq*, June–Sept., 1948.
- ABDOL HOSSEIN NAVAL. A Chapter from the History of the Iranian Revolution [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, July, 1948.
- G. OSIPOV. The Palestine Doings of Charles Clayton. *New Times*, Dec. 22, 1948.
- PRINCESS SHAMS PAHLAVI. The Last Days of the Late Shāh-in-Shāh [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, Mar., May, 1948.
- RAPHAEL PATAI. A Popular "Life of Nadir." *Edoth* (Jerusalem), Apr.–June, 1948.
- I. P. PETRUSHKESKI. Urban Patriciate in the Hulaguid State [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostočovedeniie*, V, 1948.
- MARY ROWLETT. Progress in Egypt. *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
- NECMEDDIN SADAK. Turkey Faces the Soviets. *For. Affairs*, Apr.
- ALĪ QULĪ SARDĀR AS'AD and SAMSĀM-US-SALTĀNEH. Letter by the Bakhtiari Chiefs to the Foreign Diplomats in Tehran [in Persian]. *Yādegār*, Sept., 1948.
- KHĀN MALEK SĀSĀNI. The Bahrain Islands [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, Mar., 1948.
- A. A. SEMIONOV. A Treatise on the Ranks and Duties of Officeholders in Medieval Bokhara [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostočovedeniie*, V, 1948.
- K. M. SMOGORZEWSKI. New Turkey's First Twenty-five Years. *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec., 1948.
- FERDINAND TAOUTEL. Historic Documents on Aleppo [in Arabic]. *Al-Mashriq*, Apr.–June, 1948.
- HASSAN TAQI-ZADEH. Iranian Democracy [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, July, 1948.
- D. TIKHONOV. The Revolt of 1864 in East Turkestan [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostočovedeniie*, V, 1948.
- OWEN TWEEDY. The Middle-East—a Longer View. *Asiatic Rev.*, Apr.
- A. Y. YAKUBOVSKI. The Revolt of Muganna', the Movement of "White Robes" [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostočovedeniie*, V, 1948.
- Id.* Share-cropping Tenancy in Iraq in the 8th Century [in Russian]. *Ibid.*, IV, 1947.
- RICHARD YĀSEMI. Nomud Vānomud [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, Sept., 1948.
- CHARLES ZAHAR. Nomination, Attributions et Pouvoirs des Directeurs Generaux de la Municipalité d'Alexandrie. *L'Egypte Contemp.*, Jan.–Feb., 1948.
- ḤABĪB ZAYYĀT. Allegations of the Abbasid Historians in Describing the Gluttony of the Omayyads [in Arabic]. *Al-Mashriq*, Apr.–June, 1948.
- Id.* The Monasteries of Damascus and Environs of Islam [in Arabic]. *Ibid.*
- COSTI K. ZURAYK. The Essence of Arab Civilization. *Middle East Jour.*, Apr.
- Developments in Turkey—a Survey of Twenty-five Years Progress. *Asiatic Rev.*, Apr.
- V. H. W. DOWSON. The Date and the Arab. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan.
- DOROTHEA SEELYE FRANCK and PETER G. FRANCK. The Middle East Economy in 1948. *Middle East Jour.*, Apr.
- STEPHEN LONGRIGG. The Liquid Gold of Arabia. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan.
- OSMAN TURAN. Land Law among the Seljuq Turks [in Turkish]. *Belleten*, July, 1948.
- JUDAH BERGMAN. Jews and Moslems in Their Popular Beliefs. *Edoth*, Apr.–June, 1948.
- FARUK DEMİRTAS. The Kayi Clan in Anatolia in the Ottoman Period [in Turkish]. *Belleten*, July, 1948.
- E. HAMMERSHAIMB. The Religious and Political Development of Muḥammad [I]. *Muslim World*, Apr.
- GERMAINE MARTY. Les Algériens à Tunis. *Ibla*, 3^e, 4^e trim., 1948.

- Id.* Les Marocains à Tunis. *Ibid.*, 1^{er} trim.
- MOHAMMAD MOKRI. The Kurdish Tribes—the Sanjabi Clan [in Persian]. *Yādegār*, Sept., 1948.
- A. R. NYKL. A Shepherd's Amulet. *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.*, Jan.–Mar.
- BAHAEDDIN OGEL. The Original Töles Clan [in Turkish, with resumé in French]. *Belleten*, Oct., 1948.
- M. PERLMANN. Women and Feminism in Egypt. *Palestine Affairs*, Mar.
- WILLIAM THOMPSON. The Qur'ān and Islam, *Muslim World*, Apr.
- W. F. ALBRIGHT. A Decade of Middle Eastern Archeology, 1939–1948. *Palestine Affairs*, Feb.
- BEDRICH AUGST. A Persian Coin of the "Gallows Birds" Dynasty. *Numis. Rev.*, Apr.–Oct., 1948.
- SAYILI AYDIN. A Short Investigation at Tire [in Turkish and English] *Belleten*, July, 1948.
- Id.* The Wajidiyya Madrasa of Kutahya [in Turkish and English]. *Ibid.*
- A. A. BYKOV. An Abbasid Memorial Dirham of the Beginning of the 9th Century [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostokovedenie*, IV, 1947.
- CHARLES FAWCETT. 17th Century Dollar Symbols in the Levant. *Numis. Chron.*, VII, 1947.
- RICHARD N. FRYE. Two Timurid Monuments in Herat. *Artibus Asiae*, II, 1948.
- V. A. KRACHKOVSKAYA. The Historical Importance of South Arabian Architectural Monuments [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostokovedenie*, IV, 1947.
- GEORGE C. MILES. Early Islamic Inscriptions Near Ṭā'if in the Ḥijāz. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, Oct., 1948.
- MOHAMMAD ALI MOKHBER. Historical Monuments of Fars [in Persian]. *Yādegār*, Sept., 1948.
- H. L. RABINO. Persian Coin Said to Have Been Struck at Bahrain. *Numis. Chron.*, VII, 1947.
- E. E. BERTELS. The Problem of Tradition in the Heroic Epos of the Turkic Peoples [in Russian]. *Sovetskoie Vostokovedenie*, IV, 1947.
- D. M. LANG. Sa'di and the Age of Reason in France. *Asiatic Rev.*, Apr.
- MANFRED HALPERN. Recent Books on Moslem-French Relations. *Middle East Jour.*, Apr.
- RUDOLPH LOWENTHAL. Works on the Far East and Central Asia Published in the U.S.S.R. *Far East Quar.*, Feb.
- Hakim-ul-Molk [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, Mar., 1948.
- A. Y. YAKUBOVSKI. P. P. Ivanov as an Historian of Middle Asia [in Russian]. *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, V, 1948.

Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

ARTICLES

- SPENCER COXE. Quakers and Communists in China. *Far Eastern Survey*, June 29.
- NORTON S. GINSBURG. Manchurian Railway Development. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Aug.
- CARL E. HOPKINS and JOSEPH E. STEPANEK. China's AIS—A Point Four Pioneer. *Far Eastern Survey*, July 13.
- J. R. KAIM. Trade Prospects in China. *Ibid.*, June 1.
- E. STUART KIRBY. Hongkong Looks Ahead. *Pacific Affairs*, June.
- ALEXANDER G. SOPER. The First Two Laws of Hsieh Ho. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Aug.
- JOSEPH W. BALLANTINE. Mukden to Pearl Harbor: The Foreign Policies of Japan. *For. Affairs*, July.
- ROBERT W. BARNETT. Problems in Japan's Economic Recovery. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 4.
- A. S. COMYNS-CARR. The Tokyo War Crimes Trial. *Ibid.*, May 18.
- WESLEY R. FISHEL. A Japanese Peace Maneuver in 1944. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Aug.
- NOBUTAKA IKE. The Development of Capitalism in Japan. *Pacific Affairs*, June.
- C. CLYDE MITCHELL. Land Reform in South Korea. *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH Z. REDY. Reparations from Japan. *Far Eastern Survey*, June 29.
- E. DE VRIES. Problems of Agriculture in Indonesia. *Pacific Affairs*, June.
- J. S. FURNIVALL. Twilight in Burma: Independence and After. *Ibid.*
- JAMES J. HALSEMA. Philippine Financial Policies. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 4.

GEORGE McT. KAHIN. Communist Leadership in Indonesia. *Ibid.*, Aug. 10.

IAN MORRISON. Local Self-Government in Sarawak. *Pacific Affairs*, June.

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF. Prince Diponegoro: Progenitor of Indonesian Nationalism. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Aug.

LEO C. STINE. Philippine Labor Problems and Politics. *Far Eastern Survey*, July 13.

J. E. SPENCER. The Philippine Rice Problem. *Ibid.*, June 1.

United States History

Richard J. Purcell

GENERAL

GENTLEMAN'S PROGRESS: THE ITINERARIUM OF DR. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, 1744. Edited with an Introduction by *Carl Bridenbaugh*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1948, pp. xxxii, 267, \$4.00.) Dr. Alexander Hamilton, of Annapolis, was one of the relatively few trained physicians in the British-American colonies. One of the sons of the principal of the University of Edinburgh, he was educated in the more advanced intellectual currents of the early eighteenth century, completing his education with a degree in medicine at that university in 1737. He emigrated to Maryland in 1739 and immediately took an important place in the intellectual and social life of that colony. It was on May 30, 1744, that Dr. Hamilton set out, for reasons of health, upon the journey through the colonies that was to take him as far north as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and as far inland as Albany, New York. The journal he wrote on that journey, here published, is one of the most entertaining and one of the most valuable written by any American in that period. For Doctor Hamilton was a keen and truthful observer; and through his notes there appear not only the social life and customs of the colonial Americans but also Dr. Hamilton's own keen wit, along with his typically eighteenth century nationalist's comments on what he sees and hears. Much of Dr. Hamilton's time in the cities he visited was spent with gentlemen's clubs, which generally met in taverns. He also attended churches of all persuasions, including Catholic and Jewish. His rationalism bursts forth on the sermon of a Catholic priest in Philadelphia, and he has as little patience with the common yokels of the countryside and their unbridled curiosity. Dr. Hamilton had a keen sense of humor, which was not above the bawdiness of the time, although he was revolted by the extremes of bad taste. Often he makes a remark like this: "Our discourse began upon philosophy and concluded in a smutty strain" (p. 139). Upon being forced into the position of paying a young lady a compliment that he did not mean, he remarks, "The young lady blushed; the old man [her father] was pleased and picked his teeth, and I was conscious that I had talked nonsense" (p. 138). As was only natural, Dr. Hamilton sought out the company of physicians wherever he went and exchanged medical conversation with them. His comments upon his colleagues were penetrating and trenchant, whether critical or commendatory. He took a particular aversion to the famous Dr. William Douglass, of Boston, whom he described as "a man of good learning but mischievously given to criticism and the most complete snarler I ever saw. He [Douglass] is loath to allow learning, merit, or a character to anybody. He is of the clinical class of physicians and laughs at all theory and practise founded upon it, looking upon empiricism or bare experience as the only firm basis upon which practise ought to be founded" (p. 116). This is a significant and valuable document out of the social and intellectual life of the British-Americans of the mid-eighteenth century. Dr. Bridenbaugh has written a fine twenty-page introduction to this edition of the *Itiner-*

arium, and an excellent, scholarly set of notes on the text. The editorial work is excellent. The Institute of Early American History is to be congratulated upon the publication of another fine contribution to the history of the British colonies in America.

MAX SAVELLE, *University of Washington*

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL AND THE GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC.

By *David Loth*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1949, pp. 395, \$5.00.) The author of this book has attempted an extremely difficult task. In a book of less than four hundred pages he has attempted to present for the layman the essentials of the life of Chief Justice Marshall for which Albert J. Beveridge found it necessary to utilize four volumes, each running to a greater length than this one. The author saves space by eliminating all footnotes and footnote citations. Except for occasional and incidental references in the text and inclusion of a brief bibliography at the end of the volume, he gives no indication of the sources of his materials. The facts presented, however, seem in general to have been presented with accuracy, and his selection of facts for a compressed statement of the life of the Chief Justice seems to have been made judiciously. He writes clearly and simply. In the light of this appraisal, it would seem that the book ought to meet the need of the lay public for a well-written and manageable volume on one of the outstanding characters of American political and legal history. To some extent, it does meet this need. The style, however, lacks the vigor of original presentation which is needed to capture and hold the attention of the reader. The author seems to possess only in part the ability to see his subject in perspective and to suggest to the intelligent but perhaps uninformed reader the broad significance of particular court decisions, particular trends in decisions, and the functions of the judiciary within the mechanism of the American governmental system. The book reads as if its central character had never fully captured the imagination of the author. Perhaps for that reason, the specialist in the field is left with the feeling that the task of popularizing, not our first, but the most influential of our great Chief Justices, remains yet to be done. In the light of the simplicity of style and the discipline of organization and other good qualities which this book possesses, it is a matter of regret that the author's imagination fails to catch fire and that keenness of insight seldom points up with adequate sharpness and clarity the significant aspects of John Marshall's career.

CARL BRENT SWISHER, *Johns Hopkins University*

MAGAZINES IN THE UNITED STATES: THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE. By *James Playsted Wood*. (New York, Ronald Press, 1949, pp. x, 312, \$4.00.)

Mr. Wood has neatly digested some 120 studies of magazines and the men who made them. He starts in 1704 when Daniel Defoe (of Newgate Prison) began the *Review*. From Addison, Steele, and Johnson, he crosses to the colonies and Benjamin Franklin. Here, little magazines are born, struggle, and die. But a few survive. In time, second-class postage, industrial expansion, and advertising create an environment for giants that mirror and mold the nation's growth. Wood gives tidy little critiques and profiles in chapters on Curtis, Bok, and the women's magazines; McClure and his "muckrakers"; Ross's *New Yorker*; the *Post*; the Luce line-up; farm journals; liberals and iconoclasts. Interesting is the sketch of the fabulously circulated *Reader's Digest*, which cuckoo-like lays eggs in other editorial nests. The author expands on the pace-setters. He omits restricted journals and the "subliterate" slicks and pulps. Yet what Mrs. Middlebrow learns of child-rearing and decorating from the *Journal*, Lizzie Lowbrow is likely to lap up in a ghost-written rehash "by" Lana Turner. And even the big magazines lean heavily on sex, blood, and gold. A scant three lines on "home" magazines rather short-changes their influence—good or bad—

on the overdue housing revolution. Television is ignored despite its threatening bid for readers' time and advertisers' dollars. In fact, the "influence" chapters are spotty. "Muckraking" research, we gather, has thoroughly purged American business; the crusade now is to save democracy from New Dealers. More "inside dope" would be helpful on what advertisers and magazine research staffs *know* about influence. Would a poll of free-lancers agree that *all* charges of advertising control are "absurd"? Occasionally Mr. Wood might have dug where he only skimmed. But he does give a well-packed, illuminating account of a great industry charting a shrewd course between readers' desires and what it thinks they ought to have.

H. R. JOLLIFFE, *Michigan State College*

TITANS OF THE SOIL: GREAT BUILDERS OF AGRICULTURE. By *Edward Jerome Dies*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, pp. ix, 213, \$3.50.) Unlike the boast of the pioneer manufacturer, the promise implicit in this presumptuous title is most inadequately fulfilled. The stature of the giants is not delineated in these puny tributes. Instead the compilation consists of thumbnail sketches of seventeen leaders in agriculture—planters, inventors, scientists, and administrators—ranging in time from George Washington to George Shull, to which is appended by procrustean interlocking in a single group a dozen others who "were significant but by no means so vital." The author, an industrial public relations writer, purportedly made his selections by screening lists submitted by scientific and historical "authorities of national prominence." The sketches are introduced by a snap-shot view of food production in the past and concluded by a truncated page on the outlook for future rations. After the "highlights" in the life of his subject there is scant space for the writer to reveal the "specific gifts to agriculture" in the half-dozen pages to which he restricts his sketches. By no means a master of the *précis*, his articles are far from being models for a biographical dictionary. The treatment is conventional and in places traditional. Like most popularizers, the writer has a fondness for "firsts" and "fathers." His conclusions are little modified or qualified by recent studies of the early interrelations of American and European scientists, the background and motivation of the land-grant college movement, and the administrative and political development of the Department of Agriculture. Family and business tributes to industrialists are accepted too uncritically. In spite of the clear evidence to the contrary, he reasserts a positive influence by Lincoln upon the free-soil agricultural legislation. Greeley's real contributions in the *Tribune Farmer*, the American Institute, the industrial movement, and in relations with the Maples school are completely missed. Henry Ford and George Carver are given honorable mention by reason of their alleged contribution to the writer's favorite chemurgical cause. Mr. Dies is mistaken in his belief that this is the first collection of agricultural biography for the general reader. In fact there have been so many that the need for another of this sort seems highly questionable. However, if the latest simplified and easy approach helps to create an interest in the "builders of agriculture," greater and lesser, that leads to more complete and serious reading it will have a measure of utility. Whatever the shortcomings in content, the publishers have more than fulfilled their obligation as to form: paper, printing, binding, and illustrations are all in accord with the best standards of bookmaking.

EARLE D. ROSS, *Iowa State College*

PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND INDUSTRIAL AMERICA. By *Henry F. May*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. x, 297, \$3.50.) This fascinating volume has as its general theme the interrelations of Protestant social theory and industrial development in the post-Civil War period to 1895. The author does not survey all

Protestant social thought, only that of the five major denominations, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian—a justifiable limitation in view of the fact that these groups dominated Protestant public opinion and exerted a powerful and remarkably homogeneous influence on American society. That influence was used, the author demonstrates, to invest the prevailing economics with divine sanction and to quell the growing revolt against the laissez-faire system. With few exceptions, Protestants until late in the century equated the laws of the classical political economy with the laws of God, and the emphasis and clarity with which this is set out, especially in the early chapters, constitute the book's unique contribution. Professor May is explicit in contrast to other writers who either ignore this point or take it for granted. Industrial conflict finally induced many representative Protestants to abandon complacent individualism in favor of social Christianity. Some (the conservatives) would mildly reform the existing order, others (the radicals) would overthrow it by peaceful means, while the more numerous group (the progressives or social gospellers) would drastically modify, though not destroy, the present system. Although some advocates of social Christianity do not readily fit into the classification, it takes no undue liberties with the facts and introduces a much-needed methodological precision. The author takes issue with the widely held assumption that the theological breakdown stimulated social Christianity while insisting that urban social service inevitably promoted, if indirectly, the socialization of religious thought. Social Christianity did not impress the leaders of business enterprise; it did not end the alienation of organized labor; but it helped to arouse and educate middle-class folk whose reforming zeal bore fruit in the Progressive movement of the early twentieth century. Remarkably free of erroneous statements and containing an exhaustive bibliography, May's book is as reliable as it is interesting and readable.

AARON I. ABELL, *University of Notre Dame*

MR. JUSTICE BLACK: THE MAN AND HIS OPINIONS. By *John P. Frank*. Introduction by Charles A. Beard. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. xix, 357, iv, \$4.00.) This very able and well-written sketch of the leader of the liberal wing of the Supreme Court by his former law clerk comprises 136 pages of biography and 221 of excerpts from opinions. Black's thinking was tinged from the first by his father's tendency to Populism and throughout his career he has been an opponent of monopoly and a champion of the common man and of oppressed individuals, especially including the Negro. Such a statement concerning one whose Supreme Court appointment was questioned because of former membership in the Ku Klux Klan may seem strange but this brief connection had been dictated by pure expediency. In the other instance in which his conduct has been questioned Black would appear to have been the victim of Mr. Justice Jackson's personal pique. One of the two workhorses of the Court, he has favored giving the freest possible hand to both state and federal regulation except where individual civil rights are involved. If his resulting interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment is logically inconsistent, it nevertheless stands for a fundamentally desirable policy as may be said for others of his somewhat radical opinions, some of which go farther than those of the majority of the Court.

THEODORE W. COUSENS, *Bucknell University*

PATHS TO THE PRESENT. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger*. (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. vii, 317, \$3.00.) This is an unusual book. Combining sound scholarship and popular appeal, it should have a large influence among historians in bringing to their attention the possibility of securing a wider audience through use of the historical essay in presenting the results of their research in the field of American history. The public

can be induced to read essays such as those published in this volume. The book consists of thirteen essays. Each deals with an important feature of American history. With four exceptions all have been previously published, but each has undergone some revision. In most instances the changes have been slight, involving only alterations that bring the essay up to date. Some, however, represent elaboration of previously published short articles or condensation of long ones. Two of the four new essays deal with the presidents and the presidential office in actual operation, one with the significant wars the United States has fought, and one with the food Americans have eaten. They add much to the interest and value of the book. Documentation for such a volume presents a difficult problem to author and publisher. Inclusion of the notes that had accompanied the essays that appeared earlier and the equivalent for the new essays would have required many pages and might have deterred many possible readers out of a mistaken impression that the book was intended only for specialists. A satisfactory or at any rate a reasonable solution has been found in the omission of all footnotes and the inclusion of a carefully selected list of books and articles for further reading. Readers of these essays will doubtless vary in opinion as to which of them deserves the palm. In the opinion of the reviewer it should go to "America's Stake in One World." That is a model historical essay in form and a crushing refutation of the historical misconceptions upon which isolationism has rested.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, *Dartmouth College*

AMERICAN THEMES. By *D. W. Brogan*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 284, \$3.50.) D. W. Brogan stands out as one of the more penetrating as well as learned of the contemporary British critics of American life and institutions. He writes with a wealth of information and understanding of the United States and of its history that might well be the envy of American students of the United States. In the volume under review Professor Brogan has brought together thirty-nine essays written from 1931 to 1947 for British and American periodicals. About one half the pieces were written as book reviews and the remainder as essays dealing with current problems or events of contemporary interest. The range of subject matter covered is broad—ten essays deal with biographical materials, eight with social forces and conditions, seven with literary subjects and history, three with the American language, two with political and constitutional matters, two with the movies, two with travel, and one each with American history, philosophy, education, magazines, and Anglo-American relations. It is the reviewer's judgment that the essays entitled "The American Constitution," "American History," "The Decline of Boston," "Thomas Jefferson," and "This is America," reveal the author at his best in critical comment about the United States and its civilization. In "The Bulldozer" Professor Brogan states for Americans and non-Americans one of the most significant of contemporary questions: "What is to be the impact of America upon the world in the immediate future?" The author does not assume to answer this question for Americans, although he cannot but be concerned with the ultimate answer. If all America's critics were as thoroughly acquainted with the United States and its history as Professor Brogan, our task of clarifying our own objectives and the means of achieving them would be made simpler than it now is in the face of so many dissident and discordant voices seeking to give us advice. This volume of essays will prove useful not only to the general reader but to the serious student interested in foreign criticism of civilization in the United States.

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES, *Stanford University*

REPORT ON AMERICA. By *Robert Payne*. (New York, John Day, 1949, pp. 279, \$3.50.) I do admire the Englishman . . . Who with his special *weltschmerz* can . . .

Contrive to view the Yankee race . . . As not entirely commonplace. . . . But as through lush and ornate prose . . . One goes and comes, and comes and goes, . . . One wonders if the residue . . . Is worth a solemn book review. . . . The similes that never meet, . . . The metaphors still incomplete, . . . The paradox that comes to naught, . . . Give wonder to what Payne hath wrought. . . . America, to Mr. Payne, . . . Is filled with castles made in Spain, . . . A sort of modern Land of Oz, . . . A Shangri-la that never was. . . . *Pro nunc*, he vows, a Place of Power, . . . Of Riches Vast, that in this hour . . . Must guard the Holy Sepulcher, . . . Turn back the Host of Lucifer. . . . With gold, he says, and wheat and hops, . . . With atom bombs and lollipops, . . . We must of Man, with *verbum sat* . . . *Sapienti*, make a democrat. . . . Like Mr. Payne, I fear the Bear, . . . And note with consummate despair . . . The double-talk of Andrei V., . . . The simple-talk of Winston C. . . . But Bears, *on dit*, are not subdued . . . By "Peace Men" sent in multitude . . . To chant the praise of four per cent, . . . And presidential government. . . . A Department of Peace Affairs . . . Would make no converts 'mongst the Bears; . . . The Boss, without the slightest fret . . . To Bears, could sit in Cabinet. . . . The "arm sociologi-cal" . . . That does so much for Payne's morale . . . Appears to me a wistful thought, . . . A wisp the Bears have never bought. . . . And *all* the ills that Peace despoil . . . Do not derive from who owns oil; . . . For half, or more, I humbly guess, . . . Come just from human cussedness. . . . I do not wish to laugh and jeer . . . At essays honest and sincere, . . . But *dulce et decorum est* . . . To pinion day-dreams where they rest.

ROWLAND EGGER, *University of Virginia*

ARTICLES

- EDWARD MEAD EARLE. A Half-Century of American Foreign Policy: Our Stake in Europe, 1898-1948. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.
- ARCHIBALD MACLEISH. The Conquest of America. *Atlantic*, Aug., 1948.
- ROBERT R. WILSON. Postwar Commercial Treaties of the U. S. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Apr.
- FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX. National Defense and Democratic Society: A Symposium. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.
- ROBERT G. NEUMANN. United States Foreign Policy and the Soviet Satellites. *Rev. Politics*, Apr.
- HALLETT ABEND and FERDINAND L. MAYER. Wanted: A New China Policy. *Current Hist.*, July.
- E. W. THORNTON. The Origins of Our Philippine Policy. *Social Stud.*, May.
- ANNETTE BAKER FOX. The Fourth Point and the United Nations. *Internat. Conciliation*, June.
- GRAYSON KIRK. The Atlantic Pact and International Security. *Internat. Organization*, May.
- NORMAN ANGELL. The Atlantic Pact in the American Tradition. *Yale Rev.*, Summer.
- MARQUIS W. CHILDS. Washington and the Atlantic Pact. *Ibid.*
- HARVEY WISH. Getting Along with the Romanovs. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.
- WALTER LIPPMANN. The Russian-American War. *Atlantic*, July.
- WALDO GIFFORD LELAND. The Role and Work of UNESCO. *Bull. Am. Assoc. Univ. Prof.*, Summer.
- ELBERT D. THOMAS. The Meaning of Intellectual Freedom. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS. What Price Freedom. *Ibid.*
- HANSON W. BALDWIN. What Kind of a War? *Atlantic*, July.
- OLON J. BUCK. Manuscripts. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, May.
- VINCENT EATON. Americana. *Ibid.*
- PERCY W. LONG. The Modern Language Association of America in World War II. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, LXIV, Supp., pt. 2, Mar.
- CLARENCE A. BERDAHL. American Government and Politics: Some Notes of Party Membership in Congress, I, II. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Apr., June.
- WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR. Parties, Like People, Must Pay for Their Sins. *Social Stud.*, May.
- JOHN F. DULLES. Evolution or Revolution. *Geneal. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, Summer.
- ROBERT DE ROOS and ARTHUR A. MAASS. Congress and the Army Engineers. *Harper's*, Aug.

- FLOYD M. RIDDICK. American Government and Politics. The Second Session of the Eightieth Congress. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.
- JOHN FISCHER. Truman and Company, Limited. *Harper's*, July.
- ROBERT A. TAFT. The Republican Party. *Fortune*, Apr.
- HERBERT HOOVER. The Reform of Government. *Ibid.*, May.
- LAUREN SOTH. Mr. Hoover's Department of Agriculture. *Jour. Farm Ec.*, May.
- FERREL HEADY. The Reports of the Hoover Commission. *Rev. Politics*, July.
- DAVID FELLMAN. Constitutional Law in 1947-48. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Apr.
- J. CECIL ALTER. National Weather Service Origins. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. of Ohio*, July.
- M. J. McKEOUGH. The State, the Church, and the School. *Cath. Educ. Rev.*, May.
- AARON I. ABELL. Origins of Catholic Social Reform in the United States: Ideological Aspects. *Rev. Politics*, July.
- HOWARD R. MARRARO. American Opinion on Italy's Annexation of Venetia in 1866. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.
- BERTRAM W. KORN. Jewish 48'ers in America. *Am. Jewish Archives*, June.
- EDWARD L. ULLMAN. The Railroad Pattern of the United States. *Geog. Rev.*, Apr.
- SIDNEY KAPLAN. The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, July.
- PHILIP BUTCHER. George W. Cable and Negro Education. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- ROLAND C. McCONNELL. Importance of Records in the National Archives on the History of the Negro. *Ibid.*
- ELIZABETH S. KITE. The Franco-American Alliance and Its Relation to Catholic Emancipation in English-speaking Countries. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, June.
- BENJAMIN J. BLIED. Catholic Aspects of the American Revolution. *Salesianum* (Milwaukee), Apr.
- GERALD S. GRAHAM. Considerations on the War of American Independence. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research* (London), May.
- JOSEPH L. BLAU. Joel Barlow, Enlightened Religionist. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June.
- NATHAN R. EINHORN. The Reception of the British Peace Offer of 1778. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July.
- MERLE CURTI. The Impact of the Revolutions of 1848 on American Thought. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, June.
- JASPER W. CROSS. The Forty-Eighters and the Election of 1860. *Hist. Bull.*, May.
- RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON. President Lincoln and Emancipation. *Lincoln Herald*, June.
- WILLIAM ZORNOW. Treason as a Campaign Issue in the Re-election of Lincoln. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, June.
- Id.* Lincoln's Influence in the Election of 1864. *Lincoln Herald*, June.
- F. LAURISTON BULLARD. A Friend in France in '61. *Ibid.*
- ARTHUR F. BURNS. Wesley Mitchell and the National Bureau. *Nat'l Bureau of Ec. Research, Annual Report*, no. 29.
- EDWARD PESSEN. Did Labor Support Jackson? The Boston Story. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.
- SIDNEY KAPLAN. "Honestus" and the Annihilation of the Lawyers. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.
- AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON. Twain Was News to Other Reporters [cont.]. *Twainian*, Dec.-Mar.
- ROBERT H. BREMNER. Honest Man's Story: Frederic C. Howe. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Sociol.*, July.
- WILLIAM S. JENKINS. Records of the States of the United States: A Microfilm Compilation. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, May.
- MARVIN W. McFARLAND. The General Spaatz Collection. *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH G. RAYBACK. Who Wrote the Allison Letters: A Study in Historical Detection. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- CARL WITTKE. Mr. Justice Clarke—A Supreme Court Judge in Retirement. *Ibid.*
- MAX I. BAYM. Emma Lazarus and Emerson. *Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, June.
- ELBERT V. WILLS. Henry Immanuel Schmidt: Pioneer American Historian of Education. *Social Stud.*, Apr.
- CAROL L. THOMPSON. Problems of Industrial Expansion. I. Andrew Carnegie: Competitor. *Current Hist.*, July.
- EVELYN PAGE. The Diary and the Public Man. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.
- CHARLES ROLL. The Quaker in Anglo-American Cultural Relations. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June.
- ALBERT L. KOHLMEIER. The Adequacy of the Imperialist View of Colonial History. *Ibid.*
- MAX SAVELLE. The Imperial School of American Colonial Historians. *Ibid.*

- LEO J. ALULUNAS. Major Controversies over the Social Studies in American Secondary Education. *Harvard Educ. Rev.*, Winter.
- DONALD MARQUAND DOZER. The Tariff on Books. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- HAROLD F. GOSNELL and MOYCA C. DAVID. Instruction and Research: Public Opinion Research in Government. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.
- ROBERT K. MERTON and PAUL K. HATT. Election Polling Forecasts and Public Images of Social Science. *Publ. Opinion Quar.*, Summer.
- AVERY LEISERSON. Opinion Research and the Political Process. *Ibid.*, Spring.
- RALPH W. HIDE. Problems in Collaborative Writing of Business History. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, June.
- W. STULL HOLT. An Evaluation of the Report on Theory and Practice in Historical Study. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May.
- HENRY CLYDE HUBBART. The Contributions of Local History to the Community. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.
- JOHN MILLER. The Strategic Background of the Northern Solomons Campaign. *Ibid.*
- C. R. BARNES. The General Convention, Offices and Officers, 1785-1949. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.

DOCUMENTS

- RICHARD D. ALTICK. Dickens and America. Some Unpublished Letters. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- PATRICIA HOLBERT MENK. D. M. Erskine: Letters from America, 1798-1799. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

FOUNDATIONS OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY: THE ORIGINS OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND, 1629-1855. By *Jesse H. Shera*. [The University of Chicago Studies in Library Science.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. xv, 308, \$5.00.) This is an outstanding contribution to the growing literature on the public library as a social institution. Two years ago Sidney H. Ditzion's *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* was published, with its emphasis upon the library as a cultural development. By the time this review appears in print, several of the volumes of the Public Library Inquiry, prepared as part of a study undertaken through the Social Science Research Council, and supported financially by the Carnegie Corporation, will have appeared. The basic report of the inquiry, by Dr. Robert Leigh, will also be in print. In all of these studies, the significance of socio-historical causation in the emergence of the public library pattern is stressed, and the interpretations proceed from the analysis of the changing social environment of which the public library itself is one part. Dr. Shera's volume is based on the same intellectual premises as Dr. Ditzion's. The two books do overlap, and yet they supplement each other to a remarkable degree. The treatment in Shera is more exhaustive, the documentation is more complete, and the analysis is more detailed. Yet these volumes should stand side by side on the shelves of all those who are concerned with the growth of the public library movement in particular, or are interested in the more general analysis of social institutions. Shera traces the history of the public library from its "narrow conservational function to a broad program directed toward the advance of popular education," and in so doing outlines the transformations that took place, step by step, from the early town book collections, through the period of the social libraries in their several forms, with brief attention to the early circulating libraries, down to the creation of book collections, publicly supported, and free to all people. A brief analysis of the New England social and economic backgrounds is provided for an understanding of the colonial beginnings of the library movement. The

inadequacies of the forerunners of the public library are discussed. This leads into an elaborate and definitive analysis of the beginnings of the true public library, and the causal factors that were involved: the needs of historical scholarship and the urge to preservation, national and local pride, the faith in education, a concern with vocational problems (reflecting the new urbanism), the impact of religion, the prestige of European example, and increasing economic self-sufficiency. It is the author's conclusion that "if future generations can learn anything from an examination of library history, it is that the objectives of the public library are directly dependent upon the objectives of society itself." If there is confusion today concerning the role of the public library—and the Public Library Inquiry data suggest that such confusion is a reality—it is because social goals at present are not clearly perceived or defined.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY, *University of Minnesota*

THE VERMONT STORY: A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE GREEN MOUNTAIN STATE, 1749-1949. By *Earle Newton*, Director, Vermont Historical Society. With a Foreword by Allan Nevins and an Introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. (Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1949, pp. x, 282, \$7.50.) Most of the material in this brief, topical, indexed summary and interpretation was first published in the three-year-old, state-sponsored quarterly, *Vermont Life*. Thus the publisher could afford to devote half the space to almost five hundred expensive illustrations, maps, facsimiles and charts, nearly a third in color. Chapters 8-10, 13-16 have been condensed primarily from Vermont Historical Society publications by D. M. Ludlum, L. D. Stilwell, H. F. Wilson, W. J. Wilgus, and others cited in the short, critical bibliography (pp. 272-74). The balance is excellent between Vermont's first and second centuries; between political, economic, and social history and the parts of each; and between word and picture. The best, most original, and probably the most controversial chapter is the last, a glance at "Republican" government under a "one-party" system. The author notes (p. 263) that no small farmer has ever become governor in rural Vermont. References to Vermont's "unique philosophy" (pp. 210, 208, 242) reveal the official promoter, for Vermont has no unique philosophy, although it and the other forty-seven have individuality. Vermont was first a boisterous frontier area; then part of the green, conservative hinterland of the industrial Northeast, whence came visitors and new residents to escape at least temporarily from the cities. The steamboat and stagecoach, not the railroad, "first opened the valleys to the . . . visitor" (p. 218). Manila and straw but little wood pulp (p. 148) was used in Vermont paper before 1870. Scholars will miss bibliographical reference to such monographs as E. C. Kirkland's on railroads and Elin Anderson's on Burlington; continuous page numbering; and consistently specific and easily found references to sources. For them, however, as for the general reader, this is the freshest, most attractive synthesis available. The American Association for State and Local History will have difficulty maintaining the standard of this first volume in the rest of its *American States* series.

THOMAS BASSETT, *Earlham College*

MIGRATION FROM VERMONT. By *Lewis D. Stilwell*. (Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1948, pp. viii, 195, \$3.00.) When *Migration from Vermont* first appeared nearly a dozen years ago in the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society, it received a deservedly enthusiastic reception, for, whereas there had been countless monographs exploring life and institutions on the expanding frontier or the process of migration itself, studies of the westward movement at its source—or the "other side of the medal"—had been and still are rare indeed. Hence when Dr. Stilwell opened his discussion with the sound observation that "thought has been focused on the end of the migration process; its beginning has almost been excluded from

the field of vision. Yet the beginning is necessary to the understanding of the end; and both are necessary to a fuller insight to the past life of shifting America," he gave promise of an original approach fully realized in the discussion that followed. The text of the new edition is identical to that of the first. Following the usual Turner pattern, Dr. Stilwell surveys the state's physiography and relative position in the nation. After a parallel chapter which introduces the restless, tough-minded type of people who founded and have since occupied the state, he discusses the economic, social, and spiritual forces which prompted the mass exodus of young Vermonters during the nineteenth century. In simplest terms, Dr. Stilwell points out how inevitable it was that a vigorous alert people could not be content to remain in an area so relatively inaccessible and so limited in resources. Even though Yankee ingenuity led to many a small independent business, and the canals and railroads linked the state with the rest of the nation, Vermonters soon found that there were better markets for their skill than at home and that improved transportation, in addition to bringing business to the state, provided an easy means of escape from it. Even by 1860 about half of Vermont's natives were living outside the state. Dr. Stilwell's book is more than a contribution to literature on the westward movement, important and pioneering as it is in that respect. It is a convincing vignette of a particular way of life, and as a biography of a whole people, belongs also to the field of social history. Furthermore, the volume is written in a lucid, pleasantly varied style. It is a well-merited compliment to the author and another indication of the purposeful energy of Earle W. Newton, director of the Vermont Historical Society, that the society has now reprinted *Migration from Vermont* in sturdy cloth covers and added an excellent double-page map as well as a detailed index. Now that the volume is so readily available, it should most certainly be a standard fixture in every college and university library and a requirement in any course that gives more than passing attention to the westward movement or to New England.

RICHARD C. OVERTON, *Northwestern University*

THE NEW YORK TRIUMVIRATE: A STUDY OF THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL CAREERS OF WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, JOHN MORIN SCOTT, WILLIAM SMITH, JR. By *Dorothy Rita Dillon*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 548.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 217, \$3.25.) Dr. Dillon's objective is stated briefly in the title and more elaborately in the introduction: "This study is a search for these intangibles which when placed on the scale with the more obvious items give sufficient weight to the collected evidence to warrant a valid reconstruction of some phase of the past." The general character of the book may be indicated by emphasizing what it is not. Dr. Dillon had no intention of writing a collective biography of the three men; and she did not intend to write a history of their time. She has limited herself to their legal and political careers together with related intangibles. In describing legal activities the author has selected episodes and cases in which there was general professional or public interest. There is no analysis of the routine work of three successful lawyers, no information as to whether they were concerned chiefly with civil or with criminal cases, and not much light on their earnings. As for political activities the treatment is not consistent. The Townshend Acts and the campaign of opposition to them from 1767 to 1770 are handled sketchily. It seems incredible that three prominent lawyers could have ignored the suspension of the New York Assembly, but Dr. Dillon does not mention the subject. On the other hand she devotes considerable space to Alexander McDougall as the "New York Wilkes" and she goes into detail on Vermont. Here she finds New York's claim entirely legal and Allen's correspondence with the British "treasonable." She implies disapproval of the "Green Mountain state's land-grabbing campaigns." This tendency

toward dogmatism in a controversial subject might have been softened with some of those intangibles which Dr. Dillon claimed as a major objective. The book is noteworthy in its freedom from specific errors. Followers of Charles M. Andrews might find fault with the term "Lords of Trade" (p. 61, 64, 73, 74, 76, 172) instead of "Board of Trade," particularly when the latter term is used once (p. 175). The reviewer noted two minor slips in proofreading (pp. 159, 166). The statement (p. 127) about the origin of the First Continental Congress is so far oversimplified that it becomes misleading.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW, *Westbrook, Connecticut*

THE LONG CROOKED RIVER (THE SUSQUEHANNA). By *Richmond E. Myers*. (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1949, pp. 380, \$4.00.) The Susquehanna River rises in the state of New York, flows chiefly through Pennsylvania, and ends its course in Maryland. Like all important waterways, the long, crooked Susquehanna has had a varied and interesting history. This study presents the saga of the river from its birth "amid great upheavals of the earth's crust" to the industrial civilization of modern times, though with no stress on developments of recent years. It includes the points of view of the geologist, archaeologist, historian, and folklorist, and touches many different subjects and themes. Indians, white traders, missionaries, soldiers, refugees, boatmen, farmers, miners, ironworkers, politicians, scientists, writers, and artists, all contribute to the story of the settlement of this river valley. The author has carefully selected the events and episodes that make up his narrative, a task that, no doubt, was a difficult one. The book is informative rather than interpretive; its achievement lies in the bringing together of much information, which is presented accurately in illuminating sequence and relationship. It is a book, however, for the lay reader rather than for the professional historian. The work, especially in its historical aspects, is based largely on secondary sources; but the author, through his many contacts, knows the Susquehanna country and its people; he writes simply but enthusiastically about his subject. A fairly good bibliography for further reading is given at the end of the book and the index is well done.

ARTHUR C. BINING, *University of Pennsylvania*

ARTICLES

- MARGUERITE BAKER HILL. Memoir of William Carroll Hill. *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July.
- JOHN E. PARSONS. Samuel Colt's Medals from the American Institute. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, July.
- CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN. Young John Adams. *Atlantic*, Sept.
- ARCHIBALD MACLEISH. The Yankee Skipper. *Yale Rev.*, Summer.
- ANDREW H. BROWN. Skyline Trail from Maine to Georgia. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, Aug.
- AUSTIN T. FOSTER. The Blazed Trail of Vermont's Northern Boundary. *Vermont Quar.*, Jan.
- EDWARD H. BROWN. Harvard and the Ohio Mounds. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.
- WENDELL P. GLICK. Thoreau and the Herald of Freedom. *Ibid.*
- C. HARTLEY GRATTAN. What Makes New England Go? *Harper's*, Aug.
- BERNARD MASON. Aspects of the New York Revolt of 1689. *New York Hist.*, Apr.
- HOWARD R. MARRARO. Italians in New York in the Eighteen Fifties. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT J. RAYBECK. The Silver Grey Revolt. *Ibid.*
- CONSTANCE NOYES ROBERTSON. The Oneida Community. *Ibid.*
- THOMAS F. O'CONNOR. Catholicism in the Fort Stanwix Country (1776-1876). *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, June.
- MILES JEFFERSON. The Negro on Broadway, 1948-1949. *Phylon*, 2d quar., 1949.
- RICHARD ROBBINS. Counter-Assertion in the New York Negro Press. *Ibid.*
- R. W. G. VAIL. Unknown Views of Old New York. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, July.
- ARTHUR H. MERRITT. American Churches Pictured on Old Blue China. *Ibid.*

- BLAKE MCKELVEY. Rochester and the Erie Canal. *Rochester Hist.*, July.
- WILLIAM N. FENTON. Collecting Materials for a Political History of the Six Nations. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, June.
- ARTHUR S. MAYNARD. Honorable Charles Evans Hughes. *New York Geneal. and Biog. Rec.*, Apr.
- WILLISTON H. LOFTON. Northern Labor and the Negro during the Civil War. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, July.
- FREDERICK MAYER. The Historical Significance of the Struggle between Hamilton and Jefferson. *Social Stud.*, Apr.
- CHARLES S. BELSTERLING. Baron Poellnitz of New York City and South Carolina. *New York Gen. and Biog. Rec.*, July.
- WALTER E. EDGE. New Jersey during the Past Half Century. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, July.
- ROBERT H. RICH. Election Machinery in New Jersey, 1702-1775. *Ibid.*
- MILTON J. NADWORN. New Jersey Workingmen and the Jacksonians. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD P. MCCORMICK. New Jersey's First Congressional Election, 1789. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr.
- SISTER M. GAUDENTIA. The Polish People of Passaic, N. J. *Polish Am. Stud.*, July-Dec., 1948.
- ALBERT W. ATWOOD. Pittsburgh: Workshop of the Titans. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, July.
- CATHERINE BELL PALMER. Appalachian Valley Pilgrimage. *Ibid.*
- MARTIN P. SNYDER. William Birch: His Philadelphia Views. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- EDWARD PINKOWSKI. Joseph Battin: Father of the Coal Breaker. *Ibid.*
- ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE. Franklin as Demographer. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, May.
- SISTER M. ACCURSIA. St. John's Polish College of Pennsylvania. *Polish Am. Stud.*, July-Dec., 1948.
- GEORGE W. KYTE. Some Plans for a Loyalist Stronghold in the Middle Colonies. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July.
- JOHN WITTHOFT. An Outline of Pennsylvania Indian History. *Ibid.*
- THEODORE R. PARKER. Western Pennsylvania and the Naval War on the Inland Rivers, 1861-1863. *Ibid.*
- JOHN UNBLE. John S. Coffman as an Evangelist. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July.
- CHARLES WILLIAM HEATHCOTE. Three Pennsylvanians and Lincoln's Nomination—1860. *Lincoln Herald*, June.

DOCUMENTS

- JOHN LA FARGE, S.J. Henry James's Letters to the La Farges. *New England Quar.*, June.
- EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR. The Campaign of Promise and Disappointment. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, July.
- ROY F. NICHOLS. The Mystery of the Dallas Papers [I]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

PROHIBITION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1715-1945. By *Daniel Jay Whitener*, Professor of History and Government and Head of Department of Social Studies, Appalachian State Teachers College. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume 27.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. ix, 268.) In this expanded doctoral dissertation the problem of the liquor traffic in North Carolina is presented from a historical point of view. Eleven pages are devoted to the colonial and revolutionary periods, and little is said of the period 1783-1820. The formation of temperance societies for the purpose of preventing public intoxication through moral suasion highlighted the ante-bellum period. The post-Civil War period is treated in greater detail and the fight between the "wets" and the "drys" since 1865 comprises three quarters of the study. The control of alcoholic liquors was a major problem to the people of North Carolina. "No other issue has received such prolonged and, at times, heated agitation. Indeed, if the number of petitions presented to the legislature is to be taken as an index to the popular interest in this subject, then no other issue has received one-tenth as much agitation" (p. 229). Although the intensity of

this crusade varied and the methods of control changed from licensing, to local option, to state prohibition, to national prohibition, to state sale, there was a steady movement for adequate state control and enforcement. The roles of individuals, organizations such as the Anti-Saloon League, legislators, Democrats, Republicans, Negroes, newspapers, women, rural and urban voters, and churches are set forth. Unfortunately, the part of those opposed to prohibition is not so clearly presented. The author remains close to his subject and neither wanders far afield nor moralizes. The problem of "treating" with liquor to obtain votes and the importance of the liquor issue in the policies of the Democratic and the Republican parties receive close attention. Outside influences of national organizations and trends in other states are noted for their effect upon the North Carolina agitation. The volume has extensive documentation and a full index. The bibliography includes materials of all descriptions, minutes of meetings, financial reports, newspapers, official organs of prohibition and temperance societies. This study adds a new strand to the internal history of North Carolina and also outlines the pattern of this reform in the United States.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG, *University of California, Los Angeles*

A HISTORY OF LOUISIANA. By *Garnie William McGinty*. (New York, Exposition Press, 1949, pp. 318, \$3.50.) Louisiana's history is significant in more than one way for Americans. In twenty-seven short chapters Professor McGinty here builds its history upon a framework of political events, introducing some economic and social information separately. About two thirds of the volume is devoted to the period before 1865 and eighty-eight pages to events since 1876. Throughout, he obviously enjoys his subject and remains a loyal son of his state, at the time of the unreconstructed South. In spite of his praiseworthy attempt to show the permanent influences of the French and Spanish, these do not always clearly emerge. At times his organization seems forced and his evidence does not fully support his conclusions. Political events are chronicled from election to election. Excursions into economic and social matters sometimes become defenses of the "Louisiana way of life." While he has tapped primary sources, he relies more frequently, especially for the earlier period, upon secondary sources in English. A few errors of fact appear: the exclusion of the "Grandfather Clause" was not held "legal" by the United States Supreme Court (*Guinn vs. U. S.*, 1914). The index and bibliography are hardly "exhaustive." Some fundamental economic and social problems are but lightly touched. The old controversies between planter and small farmer, the import of the unhealed cleavages arising out of "racial" differences, and the deep-rooted political issues of the thirty years past all deserve more space than is given to the details (including names of minor candidates) of all the biennial elections. Even in these times should not a reader be given insight into the forces which created the so-called "King's Men," and into what may be either electrifying "progress" or a "hay-ride"? Professor McGinty's long labors provide a manual of political facts and a sympathetic, if incomplete, description of Louisiana's rich culture and great resources. We need to know more about basic issues that may be not only Louisiana's but those of the South and the nation.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *University of Arkansas*

ARTICLES

CHARLES J. MACGARVEY. Daniel Raymond, Esquire, Founder of American Economic Thought. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.

HERBERT McCLOSKEY. State Sovereignty: Alexander H. Stephens' Defense. *Rev. Politics*, Apr.

DUMAS MALONE. Jefferson and Lincoln. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, June.

GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS. Southern Authors Reveal a Changing South. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

- TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN. The Founding of St. John's College, 1784-1789. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.
- ALFRED G. HARRIS. Lincoln and the Question of Slavery in the District of Columbia. *Lincoln Herald*, June.
- L. LEON BERNARD. Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.
- LOUIS A. SIGAUD. The Tie That Severed. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.
- DAVID B. QUINN. Preparations for the 1585 Virginia Voyage. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr.
- FISKE KIMBALL. Jefferson and the Public Buildings of Virginia. II. Richmond, 1779-1780. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May.
- EDWARD M. RILEY. Yorktown during the Revolution. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.
- CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS. William Strachey, the Virginia Colony and Shakespeare. *Ibid.*
- JOHN SCHLEBECKER. Braddock's Defeat. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- HILA APPLETON RICHARDSON. Raleigh County, West Virginia, in the Civil War. *West Virginia Hist.*, Apr.
- RALPH S. SOLECKI. An Archeological Survey of Two River Basins in West Virginia [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR. The Southern Senators and the League of Nations, 1918-1920. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- GEORGE W. PASCHAL. The Educational Convention of February, 1873, and the Common Schools. *Ibid.*
- J. C. HARRINGTON. Archeological Explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. *Ibid.*
- ELISHA P. DOUGLASS. Thomas Burke, Disillusioned Democrat. *Ibid.*
- MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY. The Food and Drink Shortage on the Confederate Homefront. *Ibid.*, July.
- SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY. The Autobiography of William John Grayson. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr., July.
- FRANCES LANDER SPAIN. Early Libraries in Pendleton. *Ibid.*, July.
- MADELEINE B. STERN. John Russell: "Lord John" of Charleston. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.
- MILES W. EATON. The Development and Later Decline of the Hemp Industry in Missouri. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, July.
- ADA PARIS KLEIN. The Missouri Reader: The Fur Trade [I]. *Ibid.*
- LOY OTIS BANKS. The Evening and the Morning Star. *Ibid.*
- ALICE H. FINCKH. Gottfried Duden Views Missouri, 1824-1827 [I]. *Ibid.*
- E. G. SWEM. Kentuckians at William and Mary College before 1861 with a Sketch of the College before That Date. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, July.
- STRATTON O. HAMMON. John Hammon, Revolutionary Soldier and Kentucky Pioneer. *Ibid.*
- MARGARET KINARD. Frontier Development of Williamson County. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar.
- KENNETH ROSE. Jenny Lind, Diva. *Ibid.*
- E. MERTON COULTER. William Bacon Stevens: Physician, Historian, Teacher, Preacher. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, June.
- JO YOUNG. The Battle of Sabine Pass. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- CHARLES SCHREINER, III. The Background and Development of Brahman Cattle in Texas. *Ibid.*
- MARGARET BIERSCHWALE. Mason County, Texas, 1845-1870. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- AUBREY C. LAND. Sharpe's Confidential Report on Maryland, 1765. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.
- Letters of a Frederick County Forty-Niner. *Ibid.*
- MARSHALL W. FISHWICK. Journey through the Wilderness. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.
- CLAYTON TORRENCE. Arlington and Mount Vernon 1856: As Described in a Letter of Augusta Blanche Berard. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM S. POWELL. The Diary of Joseph Gales, 1794-1795. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.
- MARY PRINGLE FENHAGEN. Letters and Will of Robert Pringle (1702-1776). *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr., July.
- BERRY FLEMING. 199 Years of Augusta's Library: A Chronology. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, June.
- GEORGE B. TOULMIN. Comments on America and Kentucky, 1793-1802, by Harry Toulmin. *Reg. Kentucky Hist. Soc.*, Jan.

- LOWELL H. HARRISON. William Duane on Education: A Letter to the Kentucky Assembly, 1822. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- Mrs. JOHN TROTWOOD MOORE. Record of Commissions of Officers in the Tennessee Militia, 1813. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar.
- MARY WILKIN. Some Papers of the American Cotton Planters' Association, 1865-1866 [concl.]. *Ibid.*

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume XVI, THE TERRITORY OF ILLINOIS, 1809-1814. [Department of State Publication 3087.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948, pp. xi, 506, \$3.25.) The publication of this volume will be received with favor by researchers on the history of the Old Northwest and especially by those who are interested in Illinois history. Excellence of the editorial work may be assumed because of the reputation of the editor gained through the publication of the preceding volumes of the *Territorial Papers*. This may also be thought of as a volume which continues the research of Dr. Carter on early Illinois. Of the 1,000 documents, including enclosures, contained in the volume, not more than a dozen have been previously printed. They pertain to the administration of the affairs of the territory from February 3, 1809, the date of the separation from Indiana Territory, to July 15, 1814. The seat of government was fixed at "the Beautiful Town of Kaskaskia." John Boyle, having been appointed judge of the Kentucky court of appeals on April 3, 1809, resigned the office of governor of the Illinois Territory to which he had been appointed by President Madison. Nathaniel Pope, who had been commissioned as secretary to effect the preliminary organization of the territory, was appointed acting governor, continuing to serve until June 11, 1809 when Ninian Edwards, former president of the Kentucky court of appeals, assumed the duties of governor. There is ample evidence in the documents for his statement that "he found the territory had been divided into violent parties and political controversies had degenerated into personal animosities of the most rancorous and vindictive nature." Numerous letters of the governor pertain to the adjudication of land claims. A much larger number deal with his efforts to preserve peace with the Indian tribes, provide defense for the frontier settlements, and promote aggressive military action during the War of 1812. Publication of these documents necessitates the reconsideration of some of the moot questions. One of these is suggested in a letter by Thomas Forsyth, Indian trader at Peoria, to the governor of Louisiana Territory (pp. 261-65), containing a report on the Fort Dearborn massacre of August 15, 1812. Forsyth arrived in Chicago the day following the attack and secured his information on the tragedy from John Kinzie, his half-brother, "who was an eyewitness of the whole affair." Some of the statements in this letter give evidence corroborating that presented by Dr. Milo M. Quaife, on the untrustworthiness of the version of the massacre by Mrs. John H. Kinzie, author of *Wau Bun, or the Early Day in the Northwest*. No mention is made in the letter of the spectacular rescue by Black Partridge, a Potawatomi chief, of Mrs. Helm, step-daughter of John Kinzie. The order of General Hull to Captain Heald "to evacuate the garrison" is here correctly stated. Matthew Irwin, factor at Chicago in a letter to the Secretary of War, May 15, 1812, gives a report on the career of John Kinzie, authorized sutler at Fort Dearborn, whose sympathies were British. This may be interpreted as new evidence on the saving of the lives of the Kinzie family, including Mrs. Helm, three months later.

JAMES A. JAMES, *Northwestern University*

KASKASKIA UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME. By *Natalia Marec Belting*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXIX, Number 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1948, pp. 140, cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.50.) Not too much has heretofore been known about the old French colonies in the Illinois country antecedent to 1763. The late Professor Clarence W. Alvord succeeded in uncovering vast quantities of local material, including the Kaskaskia Papers, and provided the impetus which led to the collecting of transcripts from European and Canadian archives concerning these early French settlements. But his life was too short and too crowded for the production of such microscopic studies as this small book represents. In the present study, Miss Belting brought under requisition widely dispersed manuscript sources as well as all relevant printed documentary collections. Parish records were also extensively used. The author's main theme concerns the social history of Kaskaskia and its neighbors. But the story of the founding of Kaskaskia and its development and eventual destruction by erosion is also interestingly depicted. Considerable attention is likewise paid to the reproduction, with significant modifications, of the local government of Old France in a new setting. The manner of living in the Illinois country is skillfully portrayed. By reproducing selected inventories of personal property and by describing typical houses the author enables us to envision something of the kind of life the *habitants* aspired to achieve. The importance of agriculture and the fur trade in the economy of the *habitants* is also enlarged upon. Found in the end pages are extracts from the parish register which should prove of great value to genealogical students, as well as to historians seeking to identify old French names. A perusal of the volume will impress the reader, it is believed, with two outstanding contributions. First, that class distinctions, if they ever existed among the Illinois French, were scarcely discernible. Second, that there is a closer parallel than is generally recognized between the French pioneer of the Mississippi Valley in the eighteenth century and his English contemporary along the Atlantic frontier. The former possessed the same zest for individual freedom as the latter—the same indifference to authority.

CLARENCE E. CARTER, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

THE JOURNALS AND INDIAN PAINTINGS OF GEORGE WINTER, 1837-1839. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1948, pp. xix, 208, plates, \$12.50.) One of the unique services of historical societies and the one that probably justifies their existence apart from libraries, museums, and art institutes, is the preservation and ultimate publication of original documents. Such a publication is the book under review, a fine example of the service a historical society can render to the historian of American art, Indian life and customs, the frontier and frontiersmen, and the appearance of our country now profoundly altered from its condition a hundred years ago. George Winter was a young English artist (1809-1876) who moved to the Wabash Valley in 1837 to become its historian by pencil, brush, and pen. In this volume are gathered excellent reproductions of his sketches and paintings, as well as copies of his journals and other writings. These are supplemented by a short introduction by Howard H. Peckham, an evaluation of Winter's art by Wilbur D. Peat, and a biographical sketch by Gayle Thornbrough. The volume itself is one that any collector of fine editions will be glad to add to his library. In his introduction Mr. Peckham calls the roll of artists of the American scene—particularly of the Indian—before 1840. "The bulk is small, the artists few. That is why the work of George Winter in Indiana, from 1837 to 1839, assumes such historical importance." Though Mr. Peckham has omitted some of the artists in his roll call—notably, Peter Rindisbacher, whose glorious studies of Chippewa, Cree, and Sioux are preserved in great numbers, though still mostly unpublished, alas!—he

has stated the truth succinctly. How important it is, therefore, that the Indiana Historical Society has taken its mission seriously and, not succumbing to the prevalent fad of publishing airy nothings to impress a dubious clientele, has added its notable bit to the growing library of artist-historians' work on the early American scene. Winter's art is illustrated by thirty-one plates, including a self-portrait. Most of the sketches and oils represent Potawatomi and Miami Indians just prior to their enforced departure from their Indiana homes, and will be henceforth an integral part of the historian's and anthropologist's source material. No less interesting to these students will be the sympathetic descriptions of Winter's many contacts with the Indians of his region, whom he studied, interviewed, portrayed, and befriended. His was an unusual attitude for the 1830's, and the Indians rewarded his obviously great and favorable interest in them by becoming his friends. No less interesting to the botanist and general reader are frequent passages describing the haunting loveliness of a landscape so altered today as to be hard to recognize for the vast Indiana forest of oaks, "noble elms and gigantic poplars," which stirred Winter to the depths of his artistic soul. The leafy aisles of the primeval forest roused him to poetry when he wrote, just as facial and bodily strength and individuality among Indians stirred his pencil to activity, while the colorful costume and jewelry of squaws and braves urged his brush to make contact with palette and canvas. We should be the poorer today in our heritage, if this excellent volume had not been published.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

INDIANA AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS, 1816-1916: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF AUTHORS WHO PUBLISHED DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF INDIANA STATEHOOD WITH LISTS OF THEIR BOOKS. Compiled by R. E. Banta. (Crawfordsville, Indiana, Wabash College, 1949, pp. xvii, 352, free to libraries.) Anyone who has tried to compile data about the more obscure regional authors will welcome *Indiana Authors and Their Books* as a useful biographical and bibliographical tool. The volume contains biographical data and a list of published books for all Indiana authors during the first century of statehood. No author is listed whose first book appeared after 1916. This arbitrary and somewhat unfortunate limitation accounts for the omission of such names as Wendell Willkie, Lloyd Lewis, Ernie Pyle, and Robert Lynd, not to mention a recent novelist like Ross Lockridge. The problem of selection was solved in this way: an Indiana author was defined as one who (1) was born in Indiana, (2) was reared and educated in Indiana, (3) did his principal literary work in Indiana, or (4) spent most of his life in Indiana. Admirably succinct as this principle of inclusion seems, it makes for certain freakish omissions and citations. Thus Joaquin Miller is considered an Indiana author because he was born a Hoosier and spent his infant days in the state; Abraham Lincoln, who lived fourteen years in Indiana, is not mentioned. Neither David Starr Jordan, for six years the distinguished president of Indiana University, nor Baynard Rush Hall, whose *New Purchase* is one of the important early books about the cultural and educational development of Indiana, is listed. Any compilation of literary biography on a regional basis is inevitably a graveyard of the obscure, and *Indiana Authors* is no exception. The great majority of writers commemorated here are mediocre and trivial, second-rate poets, novelists, preachers, orators, and editors. Yet Indiana has produced a surprisingly large number of popular and significant writers—Edward Eggleston, Lew Wallace, Booth Tarkington, the McCutcheon brothers, Ade, Riley, Thompson, Dreiser, Charles Beard, George Jean Nathan, and Elmer Davis among others; and these are all included. The space allocated to individuals seems somewhat strange. Dreiser, Tarkington, and Riley certainly merit their four columns

apiece, but George Ade is given less and Maurice Thompson and Robert Dale Owen considerably more. The longest account, seven and one half columns, is accorded Frank McKinney Hubbard, the famous humorist who created Abe Martin of Brown County; but even this space is more defensible than the four and one half columns granted such a nonentity as Jesse Lynch Holman, called Indiana's first novelist by virtue of his having written one novel, which was published in Kentucky in 1810 *before* the author removed to Indiana. Most of the biographical data printed here comes from such standard works as *Who's Who in America* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*, although occasionally, as in the articles on Ade and Mary Hartwell Catherwood, specialists become contributors. The catholic definition of *writer* as anyone who has ever published anything in book form insures the presentation of materials which will interest research workers in many fields. Despite limitations of scope and despite inconsistencies (faults of which the compiler is obviously aware), *Indiana Authors* is a useful volume. One hopes that a revision will eventually appear which will extend the book's coverage beyond the initial terminal date. After all, a good deal of writing has come out of the Hoosier state since 1916.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN, *University of Illinois*

MILWAUKEE: THE HISTORY OF A CITY. By Bayrd Still, Professor of History in New York University. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948, pp. xvi, 638, \$6.00.) *Milwaukee: the History of a City* is the most comprehensive coverage of the year-by-year development of our city that has ever been written. No phase of that evolution from the appearance of the first white settlers to its graduation as an important metropolitan city has been omitted—not a factor from economic, nationality, or geographic sectionalism to the influence of home, church, school, music, art, recreation, politics, or industrialism has been overlooked to shed light on the great drama of building a modern midwestern city. Without saying so this book is convincing evidence that city or local government is a vital school of citizenship, without which schooling democracy could not and would not exist. No one can take measure of what the town meeting and city government have contributed to our nation, or what the growing power of local government in England has supplied to making these two nations great, especially when compared with the gradual decline of all types of dictatorships, without feeling that democracy is on the march. Alexis de Tocqueville was right in saying, "Municipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations." De Tocqueville went on to say, "A nation may establish a system of free government, but without municipal institutions it can not have the spirit of liberty." Professor Still has made a great contribution in writing so fascinating, impartial, and factual a recital of the birth pains and fruition, of the inception and development of democracy at work in an American city. This history proves that, like a self-made man, the responsibilities of local citizenship develop vigorous and self-assertive citizenship.

DANIEL W. HOAN, *Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL: PIONEER EDUCATOR. By Huntley Dupre. (St. Paul, Macalester College Press, 1949, pp. 131, \$2.50.) Dr. Dupre's monograph on Edward Duffield Neill makes the significant point that the pioneers who shaped the society of the west were themselves reshaped by the conditions of the world in which they found themselves. They, too, were "tailors, re-tailored." Through an electrically charged existence of long duration Dr. Neill vibrated between liberal and bigoted attitudes. His sense of the ecclesiastical proprieties once was bitterly outraged when the Hutchinsons were allowed to sing their folk songs in the church of which he was the organizer and builder. At the end of his life he was conducting a one-man war against

the heresy of co-education and doing so with a really formidable resolution. And yet this man whose temper was so uncertain became, in his role as "apostle of education," completely disciplined by the democratic idea. With moderation and insight that make his utterances on this subject wholly admirable, he preached, throughout the 1850's when the schools of Minnesota were being called into being, the principle of the non-sectarian education for democracy. A century later his beliefs still seem wholesome and vigorous. Dr. Neill was a far better begetter than nourisher of ideas and institutions. He started many things: churches, schools, colleges. He himself had a half dozen careers as minister, teacher, army chaplain, diplomatist, historian, secretary (to Abraham Lincoln). But after his various beginnings had been made, he grew impatient with the daily struggle of each middle period and the inevitable result was to leave the ends barren. But as man of ideas he was important to Minnesota and it is chiefly in this role that Dr. Dupre presents him. The author calls his book "a modest chapter in the history of education." Considering the luridness of his subject's audacity, Dr. Dupre seems almost timorous in modesty for he has let his treatment shrink to a hundred small pages. Perhaps a full biography of this complex Proteus of the Minnesota frontier may still be done. Meanwhile we have here a valuable sketch of the career for which Dr. Neill's name deserves to be remembered.

JAMES GRAY, *University of Minnesota*

LOTS OF LAND. By *Curtis Bishop*, from material compiled under the direction of the Commissioner of the General Land Office of Texas, Bascom Giles. (Austin, Steck, 1949, pp. x, 307, \$3.00.) Bascom Giles, commissioner of the General Land Office of Texas says in the preface to this well-written book that it is the result of a lifetime of "study of land history . . . [and] the interpretation of land laws. . . ." It is, he says, "the story of the land as well as the history of the land." Unfortunately, the author, Curtis Bishop, who is a Texas journalist, does not say what he intended the book to be but certainly it is not what Giles had planned as "a history of the General Land Office" nor "a full story of how you got it [the land], what was done with it, and what is left of it." Since Texas retained control over its public lands when it became a part of the United States, state legislative and administrative policies have been far more important than in other commonwealths in the public domain area. In a state like California, for example, federal policy with respect to the administration and disposal of public lands was and is vastly important. But in Texas there was and is no federal policy, hence the uniqueness of the Texas story. Texans have long recognized this uniqueness, which helps to explain why they have shown such devotion to their history and why they have studied it so intensively. Bishop's *Lots of Land* has as its central theme the acquisition of land and its utilization. Like the good journalist that he is, the author gives attention to the flamboyant, the picturesque, the romantic story of the *empresario*, the cowboy, the great land companies, and the oilman. He has a chapter on the settler which is half the length of the preceding chapter on the *empresario* and is mostly concerned with the soldiers' land rights in the period of independence. The coming of the foreigner, especially the *Adelsverein* is given disproportionate space, and in the chapter on the cowboy fourteen lines are devoted to the Herefords and sixty to the Brahmas. A chapter on speculation is almost entirely concerned with railroad land grants and gives little attention to speculation by individuals. It is critical, however, thereby correcting some of the errors of S. G. Reed, *History of the Texas Railroads*, which is not mentioned in the bibliography. Throughout the book there is a lack of relationship between the allotment of space and significance. Notwithstanding this imbalance the book has merit as a popular and fair

presentation of the story of land and its part in the growth of Texas. It is based almost entirely on a discriminating selection of secondary accounts.

PAUL W. GATES, *Cornell University*

SEA ROUTES TO THE GOLD FIELDS: THE MIGRATION BY WATER TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849-1852. By *Oscar Lewis*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. xiv, 286, viii, \$4.00.) This book is an entertaining account of the personal experiences of the Forty-niners who migrated to California by sea. It comes as a welcome variation to the plethora of works concerned with overland travel during the Gold Rush. The work is focused on "what life was like aboard the sailing ships and steamers that plied between the two coasts" from 1848 to 1853. Within these narrow margins the problems, antics, and boredoms of American human freight are well told with excellent illustrations. Based almost entirely on the manuscript and published journals of those who went by sea, the emphasis on human interest is inevitable. However, the book raises no great questions nor does it answer any. Purporting to deal with migration by water there is no attempt to determine the magnitude of this sea-borne flow of people into San Francisco. An accurate count of the numbers coming directly from the different ports of the United States, from the isthmus, as well as from foreign ports could have been found in the port records from an inspection of the *San Francisco Arrivals, 1849-1853*. As light reading this book is excellent; for the student of maritime history there is little of value.

BOYD F. HUFF, *University of California*

MARSHAL OF THE LAST FRONTIER: LIFE AND SERVICES OF WILLIAM MATTHEW (BILL) TILGHMAN, FOR FIFTY YEARS ONE OF THE GREATEST PEACE OFFICERS OF THE WEST. By *Zoe A. Tilghman*. [Western Frontiersman Series, Volume III.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1949, pp. 406, \$7.50.) The subject of this volume, Bill Tilghman, at the age of nineteen began a fifty-year career of law enforcement which extended from the cow-town days of Dodge City, Kansas, to the oil-boom town of Cromwell, Oklahoma, where he was killed in line of duty as marshal in 1924. His life activities extended into every phase of plains life: buffalo hunting, the cow town, Indian fighting, county-seat location controversies, the race for claims at the "land openings" of Oklahoma, and hunting outlaws. Tilghman was more than a local law enforcement officer. He served for years as deputy United States marshal in Oklahoma and as chief of police of Oklahoma City after it became a real city, and he was also a member of the state legislature for a time. The first scene in this life panorama brings to view the manner of killing the buffalo and the way their hides were preserved. Then follow his experiences as deputy sheriff, marshal, and frontier peace officer in other capacities. Possibly the most valuable section in the book is that which deals with Tilghman's work as United States marshal in subduing the bandit gangs which infested Oklahoma during territorial days. This volume was prepared by Tilghman's second wife with the aid of his notes. It is to be regretted that the biography was not written while he was living since the definite exploits have lost much of their personal "I was there" flavor. While evident errors appear here and there, the atmosphere of frontier days is accurate and the work is not only intensely interesting but informing. Perhaps a fond wife can be forgiven for giving the story a more eulogistic flavor than a critical historian would have done. All in all the volume is well worth reading by the student of western American history.

EVERETT DICK, *Union College*

ARTICLES

- STEWART ANDERSON. The West through Boston Eyes. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, June.
- LELAND HARGRAVE CREER. Spanish-American Slave Trade in the Great Basin, 1800-1853. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, July.
- HAROLD and ERNESTINE BRIGGS. The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley. *Mid-Am.*, July.
- WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF, S.J., The Yakima Campaign of 1856. *Ibid.*
- FRANCIS BORGIA STECK. Father Marquette's Place in American History. *Americas*, Apr.
- DWIGHT L. DUMOND. The Mississippi: Valley of Decision. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- LOUIS FILLER. John Brown in Ohio. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- BERNARD MANDEL. Religion and the Public Schools of Ohio. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM F. ZORNOW. Bellamy Nationalism in Ohio, 1891 to 1896. *Ibid.*
- FRED COYNE HAMIL. The Establishment of the Second Moravian Mission on the Pettquotting. *Ibid.*
- FRED B. JOYNER. Robert Cumming Schenck, First Citizen and Statesman of the Miami Valley. *Ibid.*, July.
- EARL W. WILEY. "Governor" John Greiner and Chase's Bid for the Presidency in 1860. *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH P. DONNELLY. The Cahokia Anniversary. *Hist. Bull.*, May.
- ERNEST E. EAST. Lincoln and the Peoria French Claims. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Mar.
- PAOLO E. COLETTI. Silas Bryan of Salem. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES E. PETERSON. Notes on Old Cahokia. *Ibid.*
- CLARENCE S. PAINE. Plainsman From Illinois (Wild Bill Hickok). *Ibid.*
- BERT ANSON. Lathrop M. Taylor, Hanna and Taylor Partnership (fur traders). *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June.
- LEONARD LUX. The Vincennes Donation Lands. *Indiana Hist. Soc. Publ.*, XV, no. 4.
- WILLIAM J. PETERSON, *et al.* Rural Free Delivery in Iowa. *Palimpsest*, May.
- FERRIS E. LEWIS. Frederic: A Typical Logging Village in the Twilight of the Lumbering Era, 1912-18. *Michigan Hist.*, June.
- ALBERT F. BUTLER. Rediscovering Michigan's Prairies. *Ibid.*
- FRED C. HAMIL. The Moravians of the River Thames. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE S. MAY. Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips in Ann Arbor. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD N. CURRENT. The Original Typewriter Enterprise, 1867-1873. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.
- PERRY C. HILL. Rufus King and the Wisconsin Constitution. *Ibid.*
- BENJAMIN J. BLIED. The "Prisoner of State" and Its Author. *Hist. Bull.*, May.
- PHILIP D. JORDAN. Westward to Iowa. *Palimpsest*, July.
- EARLE D. ROSS. The New Agriculture. *Iowa Jour. Hist.*, Apr.
- WALKER D. WYMAN. Council Bluffs and the Westward Movement. *Ibid.*
- HOLMAN HAMILTON. Zachary Taylor and Minnesota. *Minnesota Hist.*, June.
- W. J. BRECKENRIDGE. A Century of Minnesota Wild Life. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD J. PURCELL. Archbishop Ireland: An Appreciation. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, June.
- FREDERICK G. VOSBURGH. Minnesota Makes Ideas Pay. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, Sept.
- SISTER M. TERESA, O.S.F., Polish Settlements in Minnesota, 1860-1900. *Polish Am. Stud.*, July-Dec., 1948.
- BERLIN N. CHAPMAN. Nez Percés in Indian Territory: An Archival Study. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June.
- CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN. Lewis Francis Hadley: The Long-Haired Sign Talker. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Spring.
- WILLIAM L. HIEMSTRA. Presbyterian Mission Schools among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, 1845-1860. *Ibid.*
- ETHEL McMILLAN. Women Teachers in Oklahoma, 1820-1860. *Ibid.*
- CARL ROBE WHITE. Experiences in the Opening of Oklahoma. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT TAFT. The Pictorial Record of the Old West. VII, Alfred E. Mathews. VIII, Charles and Rufus F. Zogbaum. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, May, Aug.

- RAY H. SANDEFUR. The Ingalls-Voorhees Debate of 1888. *Ibid.*, Aug.
- MERRILL J. MATTES. Robidoux's Trading Post at "Scott's Bluffs," and the California Gold Rush. *Nebraska Hist.*, June.
- J. R. JOHNSON. The Saga of the First Nebraska in the Philippines. *Ibid.*
- MERLE W. WELLS. The Creation of the Territory of Idaho. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr.
- HOWARD S. SWAN. The Music of the Mormons, 1830-1865. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May.
- ELLIS MEREDITH. Dr. Rose Kidd Beere, First Colorado Nurse in the Philippines. *Colorado Mag.*, July.
- JAMES R. HARVEY. Negroes in Colorado. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES W. HURD. The Fred Harvey System. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD C. OVERTON. The Colorado and Southern Railway: Its Heritage and Its History. *Ibid.*
- COMER CLAY. The Colorado River Raft. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- W. E. HOLLON. Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Mississippi Voyage, 1805-1806. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.
- ARNOLD L. RODRÍGUEZ. New Mexico in Transition [cont.]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, July.
- FRANCIS H. HERRICK. The Forty-First Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May.
- ALTON B. OVIATT. Steamboat Traffic on the Upper Missouri River, 1859-1869. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr.
- VINCENT P. CAROSSO. Anaheim, California: A Nineteenth Century Experiment in Commercial Viniculture. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, June.
- JAMES J. PARSONS. California Manufacturing. *Geog. Rev.*, Apr.
- FREDERICK SIMPICH. California, Horn of Plenty. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, May.
- FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT. Did Hughes Snub Johnson?—An Inside Story. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Apr.
- DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN. Oregon's Role in American History: An Old Theme Recast. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr.
- ALICE BAY MALONEY. Poet of the Oregon Backwoods: Henry W. Woodward. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June.
- WESLEY ANDREWS. Baker City in the Eighties: Boyhood Memories. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- DWIGHT L. SMITH. An Unsuccessful Negotiation for Removal of the Wyandot Indians from Ohio, 1834. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.
- HARVEY S. FORD. The Diary of John Beatty, January-June 1884 [I]. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- WALTER B. HENDRICKSON. An Owenite Society in Illinois. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June.
- JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN. Three Additional Rappite Letters. *Ibid.*
- ALICE E. SMITH. A Copper Prospector in 1846. *Michigan Hist.*, June.
- Silas J. Seymour Letters [III]. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.
- DAVID M. SMITH. The Civil War Diary of Colonel John Henry Smith. *Iowa Jour. Hist.*, Apr.
- The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County, April, 1855-April, 1857; May, 1858-November, 1860 [II, III]. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, May, Aug.
- J. ORIN OLIPHANT. The Rise of the Old School Baptists in the Oregon Country. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr.

Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

GENERAL

An important new periodical has appeared: *Documenta* (Revista de la Sociedad Peruana de Historia), I, no. 1, Lima, 1948. The publication is directed by Dr. Ella Dunbar Temple; the initial issue includes articles, documents, and bibliography, which, in scope and quality, suggest promise of permanent interest to historians and educators.

ARTICLES

- WILBUR ZELINSKY. The Historical Geography of the Negro Population of Latin America. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.
- FERNANDO HENRIQUES. West Indian Family Organization. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, July.
- CARLOS RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO. Juan Reinaldo Carli, el iniciador del estudio científico del problema de la Atlántida. *Documenta* (Lima), I, no. 1, 1948.
- JORGE C. MUELLE. Estudios etnológicos en Virú. *Ibid.*
- JUAN B. LASTRES. Dioses y templos incaicos, protectores de la salud. *Rev. Museo Nac.* (Lima), 1947.
- HANS NEVERMANN. Textiles de Antiguo Perú. Los llamados tejidos parciales procedentes de Ica y Pachacamac y su manufactura. *Ibid.*
- RAFAEL GIRARD. El último estudio del Calendario Maya Mexicano. *Rev. Arch. Biblio Nac.* (Tegucigalpa), Nov.
- HANS LENZ. Las fibras y las plantas del papel indígena mexicano. *Cuadernos Americanos* (México, D. F.), May.
- JULIO C. SÁNCHEZ MARTÍNEZ. Pedro Martyr de Angleria, Cronista de Indias. *Ibid.*
- CLARENCE FINLAYSON. Los cronistas de Indias. *Rev. Indias* (Bogotá), Sept., 1948.
- IRVING LEONARD. Spanish Ship-Board Reading in the Sixteenth Century. *Hispania*, Feb.
- JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF. Francisco de Vitoria and the Nature of Colonial Policy. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July.
- CARMELO VIÑAS MEY. La visión de América en el Teatro de Tirso Molina. *Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), Sept., 1948.
- ALBERTO MARÍA CARREÑO. The Books of Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga. *Americas*, Jan.
- JESÚS SILVA HERZOG. Meditaciones sobre México. *Cursos y Conferencias* (Buenos Aires), Jan.
- D. HÉCTOR GONZÁLEZ. Aspectos culturales de Nuevo Leon. *Acad. Ciencias Hist. Monterrey*, Sept., 1948.
- ABRAHAM VALDEZ. Americanidad y universalidad de Bolívar. *Rev. Am.* (Bogotá), Feb.
- GABRIEL PORRAS TROCONIS. La ideología eterna del Libertador. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Oct., 1948.
- HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN. La vida revolucionaria de Juan Mariano Picornell. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES C. GRIFFIN. Economic and Social Aspects of the Era of Spanish-American Independence. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- NÉSTOR CARBONNEL. Martí y la Argentina. *Arch. Jose Martí* (Havana), Jan.
- DANIEL VALCÁRCEL. Breve examen de "La Historia de Perú." *Documenta*, I, no. 1, 1948.
- Id.* Los estudios históricos en la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. *Ibid.*
- JOSÉ AGUSTÍN DE LA PUENTE CANDAMO. La enseñanza de la historia nacional en la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. *Ibid.*
- GUSTAVO PONS MUZZO. Los nuevos programas de Historia de Perú para la educación secundaria. *Ibid.*
- Antología de Raúl Porras. *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima), Sept., 1948.
- JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE. The Gold Rush by Panama, 1848-1851. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Feb.
- J. FRED RIPPY. The British Investment "Boom" of the 1880's in Latin America. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- Id.* The Japanese in Latin America. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, Summer.
- CARLOS DÁVILA. La Latina Americana y los Estados Unidos. *Rev. Am.*, Feb.
- PAUL BLANSHARD. El ocaso del imperialismo en el Caribe. *Ibid.*
- JOSÉ JOAQUÍN CAICEDO CASTILLA. La conferencia de Petropolis y el tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Reciproca firmado en Rio de Janeiro en 1947. *Univ. Nac. Colombia* (Bogotá), Apr., 1948.
- DANIEL COSOS VILLEGAS. Los problemas de América. *Cursos y Conferencias*, Jan.
- América en 1948. *Veritas* (Buenos Aires), Mar.
- GERMÁN ARCINIEGAS. Los cuatro Américas. *Cuadernos Americanos* (México, D. F.), May.
- R. A. HUMPHREYS. The Study of Latin American History. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, Summer.

- HOWARD CLINE. Reflections on Traditionalism in the Historiography of Hispanic America. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
 LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON. Thirty Years of the Hispanic American Historical Review. *Ibid.*

INDEXES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ARCHIVE GUIDES

- M. MALDONADO. Bibliografía mexicana de prehistoria. Parte III. *Bol. Biblio. Antropología Am.*, XL, 1949.
 FRANCISCO GONZALEZ DE COSSIO. Libros Mexicanos. Contribuciones a la bibliografía tipográfica de la ciudad de México en el siglo xvi y el principio del xvii. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (México, D. F.), Jan.
 Índice del Ramo de Tierras. Volúmenes 1709 a 1718 [cont.]. *Ibid.*
 Índice del Ramo Universidad. (Paginación fuera de texto). *Ibid.*
 Índice de documentos del período Federal. *Rev. Arch. Nac. Costa Rica*, Sept., 1948.
 Índice general de los libros copiadores de la Sección de Relaciones Exteriores. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Trujillo), Jan.
 Libros y folletos peruanos publicados en 1947 y 1948. *Bol. Biblio.* (Lima), Dec.
 JUAN GMO. ZELA KOORT. Cinquantaisiete años de bibliografía alemana referente al Peru. *Ibid.*

COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

ARTICLES

- FRANK GOODWYN. Pánfilo de Narváez: A Character Study of the First Spanish Leader to Land an Expedition in Texas. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb.
 MANUEL TOUSSAINT. El criterio artístico de Hernán Cortés. *Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), Sept., 1948.
 FIDEL DE LEJARZA. Acotaciones críticas en torno a la filiación religiosa de Zumárraga. *Rev. Ibero-Am.* (Madrid), Jan.
 JAMES A. MAGNER. Fray Juan de Zumárraga—His Social Contributions. *Americas*, Jan.
 LEWIS HANKE. The Contribution of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga to Mexican Culture. *Ibid.*
 FIDEL DE J. CHAUVET. Fray Juan de Zumárraga and Indian Policy in New Spain. *Ibid.*
 LÁZARO LAMADRID. Bishop Marroquín—Zumárraga's Gift to Central America. *Ibid.*
 SILVIO ZAVALA. Contribución a la historia de las instituciones coloniales de Guatemala. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist. Guatemala*, Sept., 1947.
 MANUEL CARRERA STAMPA. The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb.
 RICHARD J. MORRISSEY. Early Agriculture in Pimería Alta. *Mid-Am.*, Apr.
 FRAY ANGÉLICO CHÁVEZ. Santa Fe Church and Convent Sites in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
 APOLINAR TEJERA. La bella catalina (leyenda india). *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Trujillo), Jan.
 C. S. COTTER. The Discovery of Spanish Carvings at Seville. *Jamaican Hist. Rev.*, Dec.
 MARTHA DE CASTRO. Arte cubano colonial. *Univ. Habana*, nos. 76-81, 1948.
 JOSÉ A. FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO. Vida literaria de Cuba, 1548-1902. *Ibid.*
 WENDELL D. SCHAEFFER. The Delayed Cession of Santo Domingo to France, 1795-1801. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb.
 SEGUNDO RUIZ BELVAS, JOSÉ JULIÁN ACOSTA, FRANCISCO M. QUINOÑES. Informe sobre la abolición inmediata de la esclavitud en Puerto Rico de 10 de Abril de 1867. *Asomante*, 1948, no. 4.
 JOSÉ PINIAGUA PICAZO. La Información sobre la abolición de la esclavitud y sus autores. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- LÁZARO LAMADRID. An Unpublished Letter of Don Francisco Marroquín, First Bishop of Guatemala, to the Emperor Charles V (Guatemala, August 17, 1545). *Americas*, Jan.
 Tasaciones de tributos. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (México, D. F.), Jan.
 ENGEL SLUITER. The Fortification of Acapulco, 1615-1616. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb.

- H. P. JACOBS. French Interlopers in 1555. *Jamaican Hist. Rev.*, Dec.
 G. DEBIEN. Réfugiés de St.-Domingue aux Etats-Unis (suite). *Rev. Soc. Haitienne d'Hist. et de Geog.*, Jan.

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

ARTICLES

- ARTURO USLAR PIETRI. Lo mestizo en el Inca Garcilaso. *Asomante*, 1948, no. 2.
 ELLA DUNBAR TEMPLE. Azarosa existencia de un mestizo de sangre imperial incaica. *Documenta* (Lima), I, no. 1, 1948.
 Las conferencias del Dr. Raúl Porras Barrenechea sobre el Conquistador del Perú. *Ibid.*
 GUILLERMO LOHMANN VILLENA. Enrique Garcés, minero, poeta, y arbitrista. *Ibid.*
 RUBEN VARGAS UGARTE, S.J. Don Baltasar Jaime Martínez de Compañón, Obispo de Trujillo. *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima), Oct.
 EMILIO HARTH-TERRE. Un taller de platería en 1650. *Ibid.*, Nov.
 GWENDOLIN B. COBB. Supply and Transportation for the Potosí Mines, 1545-1640. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb.
 JOSÉ RESTREPO POSADA. Un interesante libro sobre el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Jose Gumilla's El Orinoco Ilustrado). *Bol. Hist. Antig.* (Bogotá), Sept., 1948.

DOCUMENTS

- El inventario de la "Quinta de Presa." *Documenta* (Lima), I, no. 1, 1948.
 Un documenta sobre la influencia francesa en el Virreinato. *Ibid.*

BRAZIL

ARTICLES

- MANUEL DIEGUES JUNIOR. Comércio açucareiro do Brasil nos séculos XVI y XVII (-cap. IV). *Brasil Açucareiro* (Rio de Janeiro), Sept., 1948.
 ALBERTO LAMEGO. Martin Correia Vasqueanes (primeiro governador de Campos). *Ibid.*
Id. A vida atribulada dos primeiros campistas. *Ibid.*, Dec., 1948, Jan., 1949.
 MIGUEL COSTA FILHO. O negócio do açúcar, na terra do Brasil, a través de documentos [I]. *Ibid.*, Nov., Dec., 1948, Jan., 1949.
 JERÔNIMO DE VIVEIROS. A indústria açucareira pernambucana. *Ibid.*

NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

ARTICLES

- CARLOS E. GREZ PÉREZ. Bolívar, la historia y la leyenda. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Oct., 1948.
 LUIS MARTÍNEZ DELGADO. El crimen del Berruecos. *Rev. Am.* (Bogotá), Apr.
 ERNESTO J. CASTILLERO R. Los panameños y la conspiración del 25 de septiembre contra el Libertador. *Ibid.*
 ENRIQUE GAY-CALBÓ. Martí y la conducta humana. *Acad. Hist. Cuba* (La Habana), 1949.
 FRANCISCO MARÍA NUÑEZ. Aspectos de la vida y de la obra del Dr. Castro. *Rev. Arch. Nac. Costa Rica* (San José), Sept., 1948.
 RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE. El hondureño Ramón Rosa. *Rev. Arch. Biblio. Nac.* (Tegucigalpa), Sept., 1948.
 ESTEBAN GUARDIOLA. Boceto biográfico del Dr. Ramón Rosa. *Ibid.*, Nov.
 TELMO GIRONZA. Francisco Antonio Zea. *Univ. Antioquia*, Jan.
 JOSÉ CACAVECCHIA. Medio siglo de industria azucarera cubana. *Trimestre Cubana* (La Habana), Oct.
 WILLIAM S. STOKES. The Cuban Parliamentary System in Action, 1940-1947. *Jour. Politics*, May.
 ELAINE TANNER. The Devaluation of the Mexican Peso. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, Summer.

NATHAN L. WHETTEN. Colonization in Mexico. *Mexican Life*, May.
GLENN S. DUMKE. Across Mexico in '49. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Feb.

DOCUMENTS

P. M. Torquí y Berruecos. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Oct., 1948.
Las previsiones de Sucre. *Ibid.*
Hermosa carta del Libertador. *Ibid.*
La población de Tegucigalpa en 1821. *Rev. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Tegucigalpa), Nov.
Papeles importantes [correspondence involving recognition of Central American republics, 1824-30]. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist. Guatemala*, Sept., 1947.
Contribución del siete por ciento sobre fincas de comunidades eclesiásticas (1824). *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (San José), Sept., 1948.
Carta del Obispo García Jerez a Don Juan Mora Fernández (1824). *Ibid.*
BRAULIO CARRILLO, MANUEL AGUILAR, PEDRO MAESTRE. Mensajes y comunicaciones costarricenses (1836-1842). *Ibid.*
Leyes, decretos, y ordenes de 1835. *Ibid.*
FRANCISCO MORAZÁN. El General Gefe Supremo Provisorio del Estado de Costarrica a los habitantes de Centro-América (1842). *Ibid.*
RAFAEL CARRERA. A los habitantes de Costarrica (1842). *Ibid.*
Páginas inéditas de don Casimiro Nemesio de Moya en torno al Número y las Carreras. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Trujillo), Jan.
Documentos del Archivo Nacional de Cuba relacionados con la Independencia de la República Dominicana [cont.]. *Ibid.*
RULX LEON. Chronologie médicale Haitienne (suite). *Rev. Soc. Haitienne d'Hist. et de Geog.* (Port-au-Prince), Jan.

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

ECUADOR AND THE GALÁPAGOS ISLANDS. By *Victor Wolfgang von Hagen*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949, pp. ix, 290, \$3.75.) This book is a hard one to classify. As Mr. von Hagen says in his preface: "This is not a topical book. Nor is it alone a book of travel. It is, should it need a cliché, more a history, an informal history, told through the personalities of those who have traveled, lived, written, or died within the land of the republic on the Equator. It is intended to amuse, instruct, and stimulate . . ." That is a very fair description of an unusual book. The chief cities and towns of Ecuador are considered, sketched in rather brilliant colors, and framed in a background of their racial, political, and economic history. There are numerous quotations from well-known authors—such as Antonio de Ulloa, Charles Marie de la Condamine, and W. B. Stevenson—who once visited Ecuador. Other early writers have been utilized in a conscientious effort to furnish a means of understanding and illuminating present conditions. The author is a rare phenomenon in America today, being an omnivorous reader with wide interests, an indefatigable explorer, and a prolific writer. How he has managed to travel thousands of miles in the Americas and at the same time publish a dozen volumes in as many years is a mystery which can be explained partly by his boundless energy, his keen memory, and his ability to grasp the essentials of whatever he undertakes to investigate. The description of the head-hunters whom Mr. von Hagen visited in their jungle retreats is vivid and convincing. The chapters on the city of Cuenca and the "panama hat" industry will be particularly interesting to students of economic history. The northern province of Esmeraldas, seldom visited by travelers and largely unknown to the Ecuadorians themselves, is vividly described, at least so far as the manners and customs of the inhabitants are concerned. Some years ago the author had the good fortune to spend several months on the Galápagos Islands and has taken the trouble to

assemble references to or selections from many of the writers who have published accounts of what they did and what they found there. Justifiable emphasis has been placed on the visits of Lionel Wafer and Woodes Rogers, who were among the earliest visitors. Mr. von Hagen has devoted several pages to a manuscript account of the visit of the brig *Colonel Allen* on a smuggling expedition to South America, which spent a few days at the Galápagos in February, 1818. This is an important addition to source material. Another contribution to accessible material is a translation from the Norwegian of what happened to the Norwegian bark *Alexandra* in 1906 on a trip carrying coal from New Zealand to Panama, which gives a vivid picture of shipwreck and disaster. Among the romantic events which the author has gathered to throw light on the history of "the enchanted isles," he has not chosen to include the activities of Dr. Ritter and his friend, Dora; nor those of the sensational "Baroness" and her boy friends. Nor has he given us any indication of the vivid picture of life on the islands of Santiago and Floreana, to be found in *The Enchanted Islands* by Ainslie and Frances Conway, that extraordinary couple who spent five years there. Mr. von Hagen deals with the history, geography, and biology of the Galápagos Islands in a rather discursive manner, not troubling to tie it together in a connected form but painting the picture in bold lines. An impressionist rather than a chronicler, the author has a remarkable vocabulary and loves to use unusual words. Finally, it is only fair to state that Mr. von Hagen is so thoroughly grounded in his subject that he makes it rather difficult for the uninitiated to follow him.

HIRAM BINGHAM, *Washington, D. C.*

RURAL LIFE IN ARGENTINA. By *Carl C. Taylor*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1948, pp. xx, 464, \$6.00.) This is a judicious and objective survey of contemporary conditions in rural Argentina based on extensive field work. The author is a sociologist with the United States Department of Agriculture. The student of Argentine history will find, in addition, useful summaries of available information on such topics as the development of farming and stock raising, agricultural colonization, population growth, immigration, etc. The meager census figures are carefully analyzed. Emphasis is placed on regional variation, a point often neglected by observers of Argentine society. There is no bibliography, but footnote references indicate sources used to document statements not based on the author's field observations. The volume is a useful companion to similar recent volumes like those of Whetten for Mexico and T. Lynn Smith for Brazil.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN, *Vassar College*

ARTICLES

- INDALECIO LIÉVANO AGUIRRE. El Congreso de Angostura. *Rev. Indias* (Bogotá), Nov.
 LUIS ALBERTO CABRALES. El pensamiento auténtico de Bolívar sobre el régimen de gobierno. *Estudios Políticos* (Madrid), no. 43, 1949.
 ERNESTO J. CASTILLERO. General José Domingo Espinar, Procer de Colombia y El Perú. *Bol. Hist. Antig.* (Bogotá), Sept., 1948.
 ARMANDO AIZPURÚA. Recuerdos del Doctor Rafael Nuñez en el istmo de Panama. *Ibid.*
 TULIO ENRIQUEZ TASCÓN. Historia del derecho constitucional colombiano. *Ibid.*
 JOSÉ AGUSTÍN PUENTE CANDAMO. Actitud de Riva-Agüero ante la etapa sanmartiniana de la Emancipación. *Documenta* (Lima), I, no. 1, 1948.
 ROBERTO OLIVENCIA MÁRQUEZ. Puebla de Albortón—Cuna de la progenia del Gran Prócer Oriental. *Rev. Militar y Naval* (Montevideo), July, 1948.
 Recientes homenajes al General José Artigas en el exterior. *Ibid.*
 EDUARDO ACEVEDO. Artigas, gobernante y funcionario. *Ibid.*, Oct., 1948.

- HIGINIO PARÍS EGUILAZ. Nota sobre la evolución económica-social de la República Argentina. *Estudios Políticos* (Madrid), nos. 39-42, 1948.
- FAUSTINO M. MORONI. La intervención estatal en la economía Argentina. *Rev. Facultad Ciencias Ec. Com. Pol.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 55, 56, 1948.
- MANUEL SAN MIGUEL. Análisis crítico de la reciente evolución industrial Argentina. *Ibid.*
- OSCAR LEWIS. South American Ports of Call. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Feb.

DOCUMENTS

- Historia del Ejército Nacional (1838-1840). *Bol. Hist.* (Montevideo), Aug.-Jan., 1948-49.
- Carta original de Artigas. *Bol. Militar y Naval* (Montevideo), July, 1948.
- Carta de Artigas a M. Barreiro. *Ibid.*, Oct.

BRAZIL

ARTICLES

- JERÔNIMO DE VIVEIROS. O açúcar a través do periódico, "O auxiliador da indústria nacional." *Brasil Açucareiro* (Rio de Janeiro), Sept., 1948.
- ALUISIO DE ALMEIDA. Achêgas à biografia do barão de Antonina. *Rev. Arq. Mun.* (São Paulo), Oct., 1947.
- VIRGIL SALERA. Brazil's Economy. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, Summer.

Books Received¹

- ADAMS, HENRY. *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*. New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xv, 317. \$3.50. Reprint. See review of 1st ed. (1919), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (April, 1920), 480.
- ALLIX, ANDRÉ, et al. *Les fondements de la politique extérieure des États-Unis*. Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, no. 8, Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. 204. 300 fr.
- ANDRADE, MANUEL JOSÉ. *Folklore de la Republica Dominicana*. Vol. II. Publicaciones de la Universidad de Santo Domingo, Vol. LIV. Ciudad Trujillo: Editora Montalvo. 1948. Pp. 463-619.
- Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*. No. XXXII, *Publications of the Year 1946*. London: Historical Association. 1948. Pp. 47. 1s. 6d.
- APPLEMAN, ROY E.; BURNS, JAMES M.; GUGELER, RUSSELL A.; STEVENS, JOHN. *Okinawa: The Last Battle*. United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific. Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1948. Pp. xxii, 529. \$6.00.
- ARMSTRONG, MAURICE W. *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809*. Studies in Church History, Vol. VII. Hartford: American Society of Church History. 1948. Pp. x, 141. \$3.00.
- Army Air Forces in World War II*. Prepared under editorship of WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN and JAMES LEA CATE by Air Historical Group, U. S. Air Force. Vol. II, *Europe: Torch to Point-blank, August 1942 to December 1943*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 897. \$6.00.
- ARNESON, BEN A. *The Democratic Monarchies of Scandinavia*. The Governments of Europe. 2d ed.; New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 294. Textbook.
- BARINGER, WILLIAM E. *Lincoln's Vandalia: A Pioneer Portrait*. A Publication of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 141. \$2.50.
- BARKER, EUGENE C. *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836: A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People*. 2d ed.; Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xix, 477. \$10.00. See review of 1st ed., *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (January, 1927), 348.
- BASSETT, MARGERY. *Knights of the Shire for Bedfordshire during the Middle Ages*. Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Vol. XXIX. Streatley, Luton, Beds.: the Society. 1949. Pp. xviii, 99.

¹ Includes all books received from May 1 to August 1.

- BECERRA DE LEÓN, Berta. *Bibliografía del Padre Bartolomé de las Casas*. Havana: Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, Ediciones de su Biblioteca Pública, IV. 1949. Pp. 67.
- BELLONI, GEORGES. *Aulard, historien de la Révolution française*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. xvi, 193. 400 fr.
- BELOFF, MAX. *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1929-1941*. Vol. II, 1936-1941. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 434. \$5.00.
- BENNS, F. LEE. *Europe since 1914 in Its World Setting*. 7th ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1949. Pp. xx, 103. \$5.00. Textbook.
- BILLINGTON, RAY ALLEN. *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 873. \$6.25. Textbook.
- BINDOFF, S. T. *Ket's Rebellion, 1549*. General Series: G 12. London: Historical Association. 1949. Pp. 24. 1s. 7d.
- BLAKESLEE. *Essays in History and International Relations in Honor of George Hubbard Blakeslee*. Edited by DWIGHT E. LEE and GEORGE E. McREYNOLDS. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University. 1949. Pp. xi, 324. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$4.50.
- BLANCHARD, HAROLD HOOPER, (ed.). *Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance in Translation*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. xix, 1084. \$6.00.
- BORNHOLDT, LAURA. *Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism: A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine*. Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXXIV. Northampton: the College. 1949. Pp. vii, 152.
- BOURRET, F. M. *The Gold Coast: A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919-1946*. Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, Publication No. 23. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 231. \$4.00.
- BOZEMAN, ADDA BRUEMMER. *Regional Conflicts around Geneva: An Inquiry into the Origin, Nature, and Implications of the Neutralized Zones of Gex and Upper Savoy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 432. \$5.00.
- BRAUDEL, FERNAND. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. xv, 1160. 1800 fr.
- BRINSTOOL, E. A., (ed.). *Crazy Horse, the Invincible Ogalalla Sioux Chief: The "Inside Stories" by Actual Observers, of a Most Treacherous Deed against a Great Indian Leader*. Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company. 1949. Pp. 87.
- BROWN, LLOYD A. *The Story of Maps*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1949. Pp. xix, 397. \$7.50.
- BROWNE, HENRY J. *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xix, 415. \$4.50.
- BUTLER, J. R. M. *The Present Need for History*. An Inaugural Lecture delivered on 26 January 1949. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1949. Pp. 39. 50 cents.
- CALDER, GRACE J. *The Writing of Past and Present: A Study of Carlyle's Manuscripts*. Yale Studies in English, Vol. CXII. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 216. \$3.75.
- CALDWELL, WALLACE EVERETT. *The Ancient World*. Rev. ed.; New York: Rinehart and Company. 1949. Pp. xviii, 589. \$4.25. Textbook.
- CANNON, DOROTHY F. *Explorer of the Human Brain: The Life of Santiago Ramón y Cajal (1852-1934)*. With a Memoir of Dr. Cajal by Sir Charles Sherrington. New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. xv, 303. \$4.00.
- Catholic University of America, 1887-1896: The Rectorship of John J. Keane*. By PATRICK HENRY AHERN. *The Catholic University of America, 1896-1903: The Rectorship of Thomas J. Conaty*. By PETER E. HOGAN, S.S.J. Washington: Catholic University Press. 1948, 1949. Pp. xi, 220; xi, 212. \$3.00 each.
- CATTANEO, CARLO. *L'insurrection de Milan e le considerazioni sul 1848*. A cura di Cesare Spellanzone. Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1949. Pp. lxxxix, 347. L. 1500.
- CHADWICK, H. M. *Early Scotland: The Picts, the Scots, and the Welsh of Southern Scotland*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1949. Pp. xxix, 171. \$4.00.
- CHAUNU, PIERRE. *Histoire de l'Amérique latine*. "Que sais-je?" no. 361. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. 126.

- CHURCHILL, RANDOLPH S., (ed.). *The Sinews of Peace: Post-War Speeches of Winston S. Churchill*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. 256. \$3.00.
- CLOCHÉ, PAUL. *Le siècle de Périclès*. "Que sais-je?" no. 347. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. 127.
- Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834*. Edited by FRANK J. KLINGBERG. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 157. \$3.00.
- COTNER, THOMAS EWING. *The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín De Herrera, 1792-1854*. Latin-American Studies, VII. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 336.
- COULTER, E. MERTON, and SAYE, ALBERT B., (eds.). *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 103. \$4.00.
- CRAVEN, WESLEY FRANK. *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689*. Vol. I of *A History of the South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 451. \$6.00.
- CROKAERT, JACQUES. *Histoire du Commonwealth britannique*. "Que sais-je?" no. 334. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. 118.
- CURTI, MERLE, and CARSTENSEN, VERNON. *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925*. Vol. II. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1949. Pp. x, 668. \$6.00 per vol., \$10.00 per set.
- CUTTINO, G. P., (ed.). *The Gascon Calendar of 1322*. Camden Third Series, Vol. LXX. London: Royal Historical Society. 1949. Pp. xvii, 202.
- DALLIN, DAVID J. *The Rise of Russia in Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 293. \$5.00.
- DAVIS, HAROLD E. *Latin American Leaders*. New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1949. Pp. 170. \$2.50.
- DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. *Religion and Culture*. Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh in the year 1947. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1948. Pp. 167. \$3.50.
- DECHAMPS, JULES. *Les Iles Britanniques et la Révolution française (1789-1803)*. Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1949. Pp. 245.
- DELORME, JEAN. *Chronologie des civilisations*. "Clio": Introduction aux études historiques. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. xiv, 437. 1,000 fr.
- DEUTSCHER, ISAAC. *Stalin: A Political Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 600. \$5.00.
- Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*. Series D (1937-1945), Vol. I, *From Neurath to Ribbentrop (September 1937-September 1938)*. Department of State Publication 3277. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. cv, 1220. \$3.25.
- DOLL, EUGENE EDGAR. *American History as Interpreted by German Historians from 1770 to 1815*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 5, 1948. Philadelphia: the Society. 1949. Pp. 421-534. \$1.75.
- DORSO, GUIDO. *Dittatura classe politica e classe dirigente: saggi editi ed inediti*. Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1949. Pp. xiv, 186. L. 600.
- DORSO, GUIDO. *Mussolini alla conquista del potere*. Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1949. Pp. xiii, 286. L. 800.
- DROZ, JACQUES. *L'Allemagne et la Révolution française*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. vii, 500. 1000 fr.
- Dura-Europos, The Excavations at, Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters*. Edited by M. R. ROSTOVITZ, et al. *Final Report IV*. Part I, Fasc. 2, *The Greek and Roman Pottery*, by DOROTHY HANNAH COX. Part IV, Fasc. 1, *The Bronze Objects*, by TERESA G. FRISCH and N. P. TOLL. *Final Report VI. The Coins*, by A. R. BELLINGER. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. 26, plates; viii, 68, plates; viii, 214, plates. \$1.00, \$2.00, \$5.00.
- DUTCHER, GEORGE MATTHEW, et al., (eds.). *A Guide to Historical Literature*. New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xxviii, 1222. \$12.50. Reprint. See review of 1st ed. (1931), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (January, 1932), 290.
- EDWARDS, JONATHAN, (ed.). *The Life and Diary of David Brainerd*. Newly edited, with a bio-

- graphical sketch of President Edwards by PHILIP E. HOWARD, JR. The Wycliffe Series of Christian Classics. Chicago: Moody Press. 1949. Pp. 385. \$3.50.
- EMMERSON, JOHN C., jr., (comp.). *The Steam-Boat Comes to Norfolk Harbor, and the Log of the First Ten Years: 1815-1825; Together with Some Account of Early Steam Boats in North Carolina Waters*, etc. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers. 1949. Pp. vii, 455. \$6.00.
- Encyclopedia of Criminology*. Edited by VERNON C. BRANHAM and SAMUEL B. KUTASH. New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. xxxvii, 527. \$12.00.
- English Handwriting, Some Examples of: From Essex Official, Ecclesiastical, Estate and Family Archives of the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Century, with Transcripts and Translations*. Prepared by HILDA E. P. GRIEVE. Essex Record Office Publications, No. 6. Chelmsford: Essex County Council. 1949. Pp. 30, plates. 5s.
- ERNST, ROBERT. *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863*. New York: King's Crown Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 331. \$4.50.
- Estudios de Historia de America*. By PEDRO M. ARCAVA, et al. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, Comision de Historia, Publicación Núm 90. 1948. Pp. xii, 370.
- FABRE-LUCE, ALFRED. *La fumée d'un cigare*. Paris: L'Élan. 1949. Pp. 245.
- FABRE-LUCE, ALFRED. *Le siècle prend figure*. Paris: Ernest Flammarion. 1949. Pp. 234. 250 fr.
- FAULKNER, HAROLD UNDERWOOD. *American Economic History*. Harper's Historical Series. 6th ed.; New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pp. xxiv, 812. Textbook.
- FRANÇOIS-PONCET, ANDRÉ. *The Fateful Years: Memoirs of a French Ambassador in Berlin, 1931-1938*. Translated by JACQUES LECLERQ. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 295. \$4.00.
- FRIEDMANN, ROBERT. *Mennonite Piety through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature*. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 7. Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society. 1949. Pp. xvi, 287. \$3.50.
- GALENSON, WALTER. *Labor in Norway*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 373. \$5.00.
- GORDON, BENJAMIN LEE, M. D. *Medicine throughout Antiquity*. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company. 1949. Pp. xvii, 818. \$6.00.
- Granger Country: A Pictorial Social History of the Burlington Railroad*. Edited by LLOYD LEWIS and STANLEY PARGELLIS. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1949. Unpaginated. \$5.00.
- GRAY, DUNCAN. *Nottingham through 500 Years: A Short History of Town Government*. Nottingham: Corporation of Nottingham, Quincentenary Year. 1949. Pp. 132. 4s.
- GREEN, E. R. R. *The Lagan Valley, 1800-1850: A Local History of the Industrial Revolution*. London: Faber and Faber. 1949. Pp. 188. 16s.
- GRODZINS, MORTON. *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xvii, 445. \$5.00.
- GYORGY, ANDREW. *Governments of Danubian Europe*. New York: Rinehart and Company. 1949. Pp. viii, 376. \$4.00.
- HALEVY, ELIE. *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*. Vol. I, *England in 1815*. Translated by E. I. WATKIN and D. A. BARKER. 2d ed.; New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xvi, 655. \$6.00. See review of French ed. (1912), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII (January, 1913), 367.
- HALL, JOSEPH. *Heaven upon Earth, and Characters of Vertues and Vices*. Edited by RUDOLF KIRK. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 214. \$5.00.
- HALPHEN, LOUIS, et al. *Aspects de l'Université de Paris*. Paris: Albin Michel. 1949. Pp. 266. 390 fr.
- HANKE, LEWIS. *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xi, 217. \$3.50.
- HARLOW, RALPH VOLNEY. *The United States: From Wilderness to World Power*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 854. \$5.50. Textbook.
- HART, IVOR B. *James Watt and the History of Steam Power*. Life of Science Library. New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. viii, 250. \$4.00.
- HASSALL, W. O., (ed.). *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell*. Camden Third Series, Vol. LXXI. London: Royal Historical Society. 1949. Pp. xxii, 358.

- HATCHER, HARLAN. *The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1949. Pp. 365. \$4.00.
- HEARNshaw, F. J. C., (ed.). *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*. A Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1949. Pp. 268. \$4.00. See review of 1st ed. (1921), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 86.
- HEARNshaw, F. J. C., (ed.). *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and the Reformation*. A Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1949. Pp. 215. \$4.00. Reprint. First ed. published by George G. Harrap, London, 1925.
- HEARNshaw, F. J. C., (ed.). *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. A Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London, during the Session 1925-26. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1949. Pp. 219. \$4.00. Reprint. First ed. published by George G. Harrap, London, 1926.
- HEARNshaw, F. J. C., (ed.). *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Age of Reaction and Reconstruction, 1815-65*. A Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London, during the Session 1930-31. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1949. Pp. 219. \$4.00. See review of 1st ed. (1932), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 370.
- HENDERSON, COL. G. F. R. *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. xxiv, 737. \$6.00. Reprint. See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IV (January, 1899), 371.
- HENNING, BASIL DUKE; FOORD, ARCHIBALD S.; MATHIAS, BARBARA L. *Crises in English History, 1066-1945: Select Problems in Historical Interpretation*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1949. Pp. xv, 571. \$3.80. Source book.
- Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Prepared by the Bureau of the Census, with the co-operation of the Social Science Research Council. Washington: Department of Commerce. 1949. Pp. viii, 363. \$2.50.
- HITTI, PHILIP K. *History of the Arabs*. 4th ed. rev.; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xix, 767. \$9.00. See review of 1st ed., *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII (July, 1938), 866.
- HOBSON, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. 3d ed. reprinted. London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. viii, 386. \$3.00. See review of 3d ed. (1938), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV (October, 1939), 155.
- HOEBEL, E. ADAMSON. *Man in the Primitive World: An Introduction to Anthropology*. McGraw-Hill Series in Sociology and Anthropology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. xii, 543. \$5.00. Textbook.
- HOLE, CHRISTINA. *English Sports and Pastimes*. New York: B. T. Batsford. 1949. Pp. viii, 183. \$4.50.
- HOLLERAN, MARY P. *Church and State in Guatemala*. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 549. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 359. \$4.75.
- HOLLON, W. EUGENE. *The Lost Pathfinder: Zebulon Montgomery Pike*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 240. \$3.75.
- HOurs-MIÉDAN, MADELEINE. *Carthage*. "Que sais-je?" no. 340. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. 120.
- HOWE, SUSANNE. *Novels of Empire*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 186. \$2.75.
- Indian Historical Records Commission. *Proceedings of Meetings*. Vol. XXIV, *Twenty-fourth Meeting Held at Jaipur, February 1948*. New Delhi: the Commission. 1948. Pp. 247.
- JANELLE, PIERRE. *The Catholic Reformation*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 397. \$4.50.
- JOHNSON, GERALD W. *Our English Heritage*. The Peoples of America Series. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1949. Pp. 253. \$3.50.
- JOHNSTONE, VERNEY. *The Story of the Prayer Book in England and America*. With additional chapters by ERNEST EVANS and LEICESTER C. LEWIS. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Company. 1949. Pp. vi, 117. \$2.00.
- Kaapse Plakkaatboek*. Deel III (1754-1786). Edited by S. D. NAUDÉ. Kaapse Argiefstukke. Cape Town: Cape Times. 1949. Pp. xii, 199.
- KEPHART, CALVIN. *Herr Volcnant von Erlach Minnesinger: Sponsor and Associate of Walther*

- von der Vogelweide in Franconia and Thuringia. Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House. 1949. Pp. 31. Reprint (slightly revised and augmented) from *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLII, no. 2 (April, 1943).
- KLEMMÉ, MARVIN. *The Inside Story of UNRRA: An Experience in Internationalism: A First Hand Report on the Displaced People of Europe*. New York: Lifetime Editions. 1949. Pp. xi, 307. \$3.00.
- KOSMOPOULOS, [ALICE] LESLIE WALKER. *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*. Vol. I. Munich: Münchner Verlag. 1948. Pp. xxii, 73, plates.
- KROMMINGA, JOHN. *The Christian Reformed Church: A Study in Orthodoxy*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House. 1949. Pp. 241. \$3.50.
- LA FARGE, OLIVER. *The Eagle in the Egg: The Story of the Coming of Age of Military Air Transport Which Has Produced the Airlift*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 320. \$3.50.
- LANGSAM, WALTER CONSUELO. *Francis the Good: The Education of an Emperor, 1768-1792*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 205. \$3.50.
- LARSON, AGNES M. *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 432. \$7.50.
- LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT. *Missions and the American Mind*. Indianapolis: National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship. 1949. Pp. vii, 40. Cloth \$1.00, paper 25 cents.
- LENCZOWSKI, GEORGE. *Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948: A Study in Big-Power Rivalry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 383. \$4.50.
- LEONARD, IRVING A. *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 381. \$5.00.
- LIPMAN, V. D. *Local Government Areas, 1834-1945*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1949. Pp. x, 506. 25s.
- LONDON, KURT. *How Foreign Policy Is Made*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1949. Pp. x, 277. \$3.50.
- LONGWAY, Rev. JESSE W. *The Episcopal Lineage of the Hierarchy in the United States, 1790-1948*. Cincinnati: distrib. by Frederick Pustet Company. 1948. Unpaginated.
- LUGON, C. *La République communiste chrétienne des Guaranis (1610-1768)*. Paris: Éditions Ouvrières, Économie et Humanisme. 1949. Pp. 296. 550 fr.
- MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS, (ed.). *Old Cahokia: A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History*. St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1949. Pp. 355. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$3.00.
- MACDONALD, AUSTIN F. *Latin American Politics and Government*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 642. \$4.50.
- MACDONALD, H. MALCOLM, et al., (eds.). *Outside Readings in American Government*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1949. Pp. x, 854. \$2.75. Source book.
- MCGINTY, GARNIE WILLIAM. *A History of Louisiana*. New York: Exposition Press. 1949. Pp. 318. \$3.50.
- McNAIR, JAMES B. *Simon Cameron's Adventure in Iron, 1837-1846*. Los Angeles: Author. 1949. Pp. xi, 160. \$3.85.
- MANSFIELD, HARVEY C., et al. *A Short History of OPA*. Historical Reports on War Administration: Office of Price Administration, General Publication No. 15. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. 332. 55 cents.
- MANUEL, FRANK E. *The Realities of American-Palestine Relations*. Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 378. \$5.00.
- MARTINEZ, JOAQUIN G. *François Paul Groussac: su vida—su obra*. Cuadernos de historia argentina y americana, VI. Buenos Aires: Centro de Historia Mitre. 1948. Pp. 66.
- Massachusetts Historical Society, *Handbook of the, 1791-1948*. Boston: the Society. 1949. Pp. 182.
- MASSON, FRÉDÉRIC. *Napoleon at St. Helena, 1815-1821*. Translated by LOUIS B. FREWER. Oxford: Pen-in-Hand. 1949. Pp. xix, 283. 15s.
- MAURER, JOSEPH A. *A Commentary on C. Suetonii Tranquilli, Vita C. Caligulae Caesaris, Chapters I-XXI*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1949. Pp. 108.

- MEIGS, CORNELIA. *The Violent Men: A Study of Human Relations in the First American Congress*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. 278. \$4.00.
- MENDELSON, ISAAC. *Slavery in the Ancient Near East: A Comparative Study of Slavery in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine from the Middle of the Third Millennium to the End of the First Millennium*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 162. \$3.75.
- Moran, Benjamin, *The Journal of, 1857-1865*. Edited by SARAH AGNES WALLACE and FRANCES ELMA GILLESPIE. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxxiv, 812; xx, 813-1489. \$25.00 per set.
- MOREAU, É. DE, S. J. *Histoire de l'Église en Belgique*. Vol. IV, *L'Eglise aux Pays-Bas sous les ducs de Bourgogne et Charles-Quint, 1378-1559*. Museum Lessianum—Section historique, No. 12. Brussels: L'Édition Universelle. 1949. Pp. 518.
- MURDOCK, KENNETH B. *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 235. \$4.00.
- MURPHY, AGNES. *The Ideology of French Imperialism, 1871-1881*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 241.
- MYERS, RICHMOND E. *The Long Crooked River (the Susquehanna)*. Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1949. Pp. 380. \$4.00.
- National Education Association, Committee on International Relations; Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; National Council for the Social Studies. *Education for International Understanding in American Schools: Suggestions and Recommendations*. Washington: National Education Association. 1948. Pp. xiv, 241. \$1.00.
- NEWTON, EARLE. *The Vermont Story: A History of the People of the Green Mountain State, 1749-1949*. Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society. 1949. Pp. x, 282.
- NEWTON, LEWIS W., and GAMBRELL, HERBERT P. *Texas Yesterday and Today, with the Constitution of the State of Texas*. Dallas: Turner Company. 1949. Pp. xi, 516. Textbook.
- NYE, RUSSEL B. *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 273. \$4.00.
- OBOLENSKY, DMITRI. *The Bogomils: A Study in Neo-Manichaeism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 317. \$6.50.
- ODELL, GEORGE C. D. *Annals of the New York Stage*. Vol. XV (1891-1894). New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. xvii, 1010. \$12.50.
- O'LEARY. *Die Urväter Amerikas*. Schriftenreihe "Symposion" 28. Vienna: Amandus. 1949. Pp. 74.
- ORCIBAL, JEAN. *Louis XIV contre Innocent XI: Les appels au futur concile de 1688 et l'opinion française*. Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France. Paris: J. Vrin. 1949. Pp. 197.
- PALM, FRANKLIN C. *Western Civilization: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*. Vol. II, *Since 1660*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1949. Pp. xi, 697. Textbook.
- PETRIE, SIR CHARLES. *The Jacobite Movement: The First Phase, 1688-1716*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948, 1949. Pp. 240. \$3.50.
- PHILLIPS, GEORGE L. *England's Climbing-Boys: A History of the Long Struggle to Abolish Child Labor in Chimney-Sweeping*. Kress Library of Business and Economics, Publication No. 5. Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. 1949. Pp. 61.
- PICK, F. W. *Contemporary History*. Oxford: Pen-in-Hand. 1949. Pp. 324. 10s. 6d.
- POTTER, DAVID M., and MANNING, THOMAS G. *Nationalism and Sectionalism in America, 1775-1877: Select Problems in Historical Interpretation*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 362. \$2.75.
- PRICE, ARNOLD H. *The Evolution of the Zollverein: A Study of the Ideas and Institutions Leading to German Economic Unification between 1815 and 1833*. University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Vol. XVII. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 298. \$3.50.
- RAUBITSCHKE, ANTONY E., (ed.). *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B. C.* Cambridge: Archaeological Institute of America. 1949. Pp. xv, 545.
- REINHARD, MARCEL. *Histoire de la population mondiale de 1700 à 1948*. Paris: Domat-Monchrestien. 1949. Pp. 795.

- REMAN, EDWARD. *The Norse Discoveries and Explorations in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 201. \$3.50.
- RICH, E. E., (ed.). *Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c: Begins 29th May, 1680, Ends 5 July, 1687*. Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, XI. Toronto: the Society. 1948. Pp. xli, 415.
- RIDGELY, MABEL LLOYD, (ed.). *The Ridgelys of Delaware and Their Circle: What Them Befell in Colonial and Federal Times: Letters, 1751-1890*. Portland, Me.: Anthoensen Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 427. \$7.50.
- RISTER, CARL COKE. *Oil! Titan of the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 467. \$5.00.
- ROOSEVELT, KERMIT. *Arabs, Oil, and History: The Story of the Middle East*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pp. 271. \$3.50.
- Royal Historical Society. *Transactions*. 4th Series, Vol. XXXI. London: the Society. 1949. Pp. v, 229.
- RÜTER, A. J. C., (ed.). *Rapporten van de Gouverneurs in de Provincien, 1840-1849*. Deel II. *Periodieke Rapporten, 1843*. Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, Derde serie, No. 77. Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon. 1949. Pp. 274.
- SALVATORELLI, LUIGI. *La Rivoluzione Europea (1848-1849)*. Milan: Rizzoli. 1949. Pp. 350. L. 700.
- SETON-WATSON, R. W., (ed.). *Prague Essays: Presented by a Group of British Historians to the Caroline University of Prague on the Occasion of Its Six-Hundredth Anniversary*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. 145. \$3.50.
- SHOTWELL, JAMES T. *A Balkan Mission*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 180. \$2.25.
- SIBLEY, AGNES MARIE. *Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725-1835*. New York: King's Crown Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 158. \$2.50.
- SMITH, GOLDWIN. *A History of England*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. xi, 877. \$5.00. Textbook.
- SPILLER, ROBERT E., and BLODGETT, HAROLD, (eds.). *The Roots of National Culture: American Literature to 1830*. Rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xv, 998. \$3.50. Anthology.
- STADELMANN, RUDOLF. *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Revolution von 1848*. Munich: Münchner Verlag. 1948. Pp. 216. DM 8.
- STAMPP, KENNETH M. *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*. Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XXXI. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1949. Pp. xiii, 300. \$3.00.
- STANNARD, HAROLD. *The Two Constitutions: A Comparative Study of British and American Constitutional Systems*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1949. Pp. xii, 210. \$3.00.
- STARKEY, MARION L. *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xviii, 310, vii. \$3.50.
- STEPHENS, JOHN L. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*. Edited by RICHARD L. PREDMORE. 2 vols. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. xx, 346; xiv, 401. \$10.00.
- STIRLING, BRENTS. *The Populace in Shakespeare*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 203. \$3.00.
- Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society*. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 93, No. 2. Philadelphia: the Society. 1949. Pp. 99-207. \$1.00.
- SUMMERSELL, CHARLES GRAYSON. *Mobile: History of a Seaport Town*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 81. \$1.00.
- TAYLOR, F. SHERWOOD. *The Alchemists: Founders of Modern Chemistry*. New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. x, 246. \$4.00.
- THOMPSON, J. OLIVER. *History of Ancient Geography*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 427. \$10.00.
- THORNDIKE, LYNN. *The History of Medieval Europe*. 3d ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 750. \$5.00. Textbook.
- TOPPING, PETER W., (tr.). *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania: The Law*

- Code of Frankish Greece*. Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, 3d series, Vol. III. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. x, 192. \$3.00.
- TRINTERUD, LEONARD J. *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1949. Pp. 352. \$6.50.
- United Nations. *The Charter and Judgment of the Nürnberg Tribunal: History and Analysis (Memorandum submitted by the Secretary-General)*. Lake Success, N. Y.: United Nations—General Assembly, International Law Commission; distrib. by Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 99. 75 cents.
- United States Army in the World War, 1917-1919*. Vol. I, *Organization of the American Expeditionary Forces*. Vol. II, *Policy-Forming Documents, American Expeditionary Forces*. Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1948. Pp. vii, 426; 651. \$3.00, \$4.00.
- UTLEY, FRED. *The High Cost of Vengeance: How Our German Policy Is Leading Us to Bankruptcy and War*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1949. Pp. 310. \$3.50.
- VAN INGEN, PHILIP. *The New York Academy of Medicine: Its First Hundred Years*. Library of the New York Academy of Medicine, History of Medicine Series, Vol. VIII. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 573. \$10.00.
- VOGT, JOSEPH. *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*. Munich: Münchner Verlag. 1949. Pp. 303. DM. 14,50.
- WARBURG, JAMES P. *Last Call for Common Sense*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1949. Pp. viii, 311. \$3.00.
- WARE, NORMAN. *Wealth and Welfare: The Backgrounds of American Economics*. New York: William Sloane Associates. 1949. Pp. 231. \$2.50.
- WEBER, PAUL. *Histoire du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*. Collection Lebègue, 9me Série, No. 97. Brussels: Office de Publicité. 1949. Pp. 74.
- WELCH, SIDNEY R. *South Africa under John III, 1520-1557*. Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1949. Pp. 586. 50s.
- WERKMEISTER, W. H. *A History of Philosophical Ideas in America*. New York: Ronald Press Company. 1949. Pp. xvi, 599. \$5.00. Textbook.
- WHITTLESEY, DERWENT. *Environmental Foundations of European History*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1949. Pp. xiii, 160. \$2.25.
- WILSON, C. H., (ed.). *Essays on Local Government*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948, 1949. Pp. vii, 248. \$4.00.
- WISKEMANN, ELIZABETH. *The Rome-Berlin Axis: A History of the Relations between Hitler and Mussolini*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 376. \$5.00.
- WYCHERLEY, R. E. *How the Greeks Built Cities*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xxi, 228. \$4.50.
- ZEICHNER, OSCAR. *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. 1949. Pp. xiv, 404. \$6.00.

* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

Before this issue reaches its readers those who sent in advance orders should have received the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress*. Every library, department head, and major adviser to graduate students in history should have a copy at hand. The original entries showed something like thirty duplications in the choice of subjects, and about half of these were unresolved when copy went to the printer. In a few cases advisers had let students begin work on subjects clearly pre-empted in the 1947 list. Copies of the current list can still be obtained by sending a dollar to the office of the Executive Secretary.

Among some forty-five sessions to be held during the coming meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston a partial and tentative listing of major topics includes: problems of universal peace in antiquity; East and West in the Middle Ages; politics and political ideas in England in the later Middle Ages; historiography in the age of the Renaissance; the eighteenth century aristocracy; the role of the nineteenth century university; the labor movement in the Third French Republic; some statesmen of the Weimar Republic; liberalism in pre-Revolutionary Russia; the American position in the Near East; Chinese political philosophy; American responsibilities in the Far East; India and Pakistan; American colonial science; American influences abroad; American foreign policy between the two world wars; the "withering" of New England; and ideological scares in American history.

Members on the mailing list to receive the annual report now have at hand, among other volumes, *Writings on American History* for 1939-40. This is the last volume to be prepared by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin. She began the labor of getting out this valuable bibliography in September, 1907, when at Dr. Jameson's invitation she undertook the volume for 1906. She thus concludes with the current volume forty-two years of service to the Association and to historical scholarship. It is a record that has won her in the past and will continue to win her the gratitude of every worker here and abroad, in the field of American history. Miss Griffin will continue as a member of the staff of the Library of Congress in the Division of Manuscripts.

Under the arrangement with the Library of Congress approved by the Council last December, Dr. James R. Masterson has been appointed to prepare the next volume of the *Writings on American History* for 1948. If the intermediate years since 1940 are covered later it will be in abbreviated and condensed or selective form.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of Orville and Wilbur Wright, which have recently been given to the Library of Congress by the Orville Wright estate, are invaluable for a study of the development of aviation. They include a description by Orville Wright of the Kitty Hawk flights of 1903, diaries and notebooks detailing scientific experiments carried out by the brothers from 1901 to 1920, and professional, scientific, and personal correspondence extending from 1881 to 1948. They may be consulted only by written permission of the executors of the estate.

Other large groups recently received by the Library of Congress include the papers of William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury from 1913 to 1918 and United States Senator from California from 1933 to 1939, presented by his son, Francis H. McAdoo; papers of Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, presented by Mrs. Stone; and papers of Lieutenant General Frank M. Andrews, presented by Mrs. Andrews. Use of these three groups is restricted. The extensive manuscript collection of the Naval Historical Foundation, which is being deposited in the Library, will be available for use in the near future.

Autograph notes written by the famous French scientist, Louis Pasteur, during his research into the causes of cholera in 1879 and 1880 have been received by the Library of Congress as a gift from Professor Pasteur Vallery-Radot. The Library has also acquired twenty-four letters of General Cadmus M. Wilcox, who was with Robert E. Lee's army from the first battle of Bull Run to Appomattox. These letters, written to his family shortly after the events described, give first-hand information concerning the Battle of Bull Run, the siege and evacuation of Culpeper, and the death of General Stonewall Jackson.

Reproductions of manuscripts recently received by the Library of Congress include some 13,000 photostat prints of High Court of Admiralty papers in the Public Record Office, London, consisting of records of indictments for piracy and crime on the high seas, 1696-1809, and records of prize causes, 1664-1674. Miss Ruth Anna Fisher has returned to London to continue the work on behalf of the Library of surveying and arranging for photoduplication of manuscript material relating to American history in European repositories.

New information about World War I became available in June when certain private memorandums of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson, were opened to use in the Library of Congress by qualified readers. The memorandums, written in nine small volumes, cover the years from 1915 to 1922. Restrictions on the use of the papers of Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury under President Ulysses S. Grant, and of the late Senator George W. Norris have also been relaxed.

The National Archives and its branches, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and the Federal Register, have been included in a new federal agency called Gen-

eral Services Administration, the creation of which was in line with recommendations of the Commission of Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, better known as the Hoover Commission. For the present this means no change in the operation of the National Archives, or for that matter of any of the congeries of agencies brought under General Services Administration. Studies to be made will govern future consolidations and reorganizations.

The records of the Hoover Commission, 1947-49, have been turned over to the National Archives. They consist of correspondence, minutes of meetings, reports, and other records of the executive director, the secretary's office, and the research and library section as well as "task force" papers on projects dealing with agricultural activities, medical services, regulatory commissions, personnel management, foreign affairs, supply, accounting, and national security organization. Other materials of note received recently include records of the House of Representatives for the Seventy-seventh and Seventy-eighth Congresses, 1941-44; additional general records of the Senate, 1947-48; records of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1907-46; schedules of the twelfth (1900) and fourteenth (1920) population censuses of the United States; central records of the Civil Aeronautics Administration and its predecessors, 1926-43, dealing with administrative matters and technical developments in civil aeronautics and air commerce; and more than 2,000 photographic prints and negatives made by Robert Brewster Stanton on a survey for a railway route from the Colorado coal fields to the Pacific Coast, 1889-90, received from the Geological Survey.

In its program to inform scholars and others of materials in the custody of the archivist and to facilitate the servicing of the records, the National Archives has recently issued preliminary inventories of the records of the Adjutant General's Office, the Maritime Labor Board, the Board of Investigation and Research—Transportation, the United States Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, and the land-entry papers of the General Land Office. Other publications include a *List of Documents concerning the Negotiation of Ratified Indian Treaties, 1801-1869*, a "Reference Information Circular" on *Materials in the National Archives relating to Haiti*, and a leaflet on *The National Archives Library*. Negative microcopies, positive prints of which may be purchased, have been made recently of "Captains' Letters" to the Secretary of the Navy, 1841-85 (138 rolls); population schedules of the census of 1830 for Ohio (17 rolls) and of the Colorado state census of 1885 (8 rolls); dispatches from United States ministers to Japan, 1877-1906 (50 rolls), Korea, 1884-1905 (21 rolls), and Paraguay and Uruguay, 1858-1906 (19 rolls); dispatches from United States consuls in Acapulco, 1823-1906 (8 rolls), Honolulu, 1843-1903 (21 rolls), Lima-Callao, 1827-1906 (21 rolls), Panama, 1857-1906 (26 rolls), and Valparaiso, 1828-1906 (13 rolls); and papers of General Hans von Seeckt, 1860-1938 (28 rolls).

In 1880 an international copyright treaty proposed by Messrs. Harper and

Brothers, representing the American publishers, was under consideration, and twelve outstanding authors and editors of the day signed a petition to the Secretary of State endorsing it and urging its early negotiation. Those who signed were Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James T. Fields, John Greenleaf Whittier, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, William Dean Howells, Charles Dudley Warner, Samuel L. Clemens, Charles Eliot Norton, George William Curtis, and George Bancroft. The manuscript petition bearing the signatures has been photographically reproduced in exact size by the National Archives. Other facsimiles available include the Bill of Rights, George Washington's oath of allegiance at Valley Forge, a Revolutionary War recruiting poster, photographs of Abraham Lincoln, Robert E. Lee, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, and several documents relating to the Washington Monument. Each of them costs twenty cents, except the Bill of Rights, which costs fifty-five cents. For further information, address the Exhibits and Information Officer, National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

Yale University has announced that funds given by the Old Dominion Foundation have enabled Yale to purchase the vast collection of Boswell papers built in the last twenty-three years by Lieutenant Colonel Ralph H. Isham. An editorial board headed by Professor Frederick A. Pottle of Yale will edit and publish them in forty to fifty volumes bearing the imprint of Whittlesey House, a subsidiary of the McGraw-Hill Book Company. It is planned to put out the first volume late in 1950. The Old Dominion Foundation was established by Mr. Paul W. Mellon, Yale '29, son of the former Secretary of the Treasury.

The library of the late Judge Samuel M. Wilson has been given by his will to the University of Kentucky. It consists of approximately 10,000 books, at least 1,000 of which are very rare. There are several thousand pamphlets, many of them early Kentucky imprints. The manuscripts will number probably in the hundreds of thousands of pieces. The Wilson Library is particularly strong in at least three fields: the history of Kentucky, the history of the Presbyterian church, and genealogy. The map collection is a valuable supplement to the books and manuscripts.

The library of the University of Missouri has issued as *Bulletin No. 5* a mimeographed catalog of its Western Historical Manuscripts Collection. Although exceedingly varied and miscellaneous, the collection cannot be overlooked by anyone working in the social and political history of the Mississippi Valley. Civil War items are well represented as are account books and records of many small business concerns.

Scholars interested in current Russian affairs in all fields, especially the social

sciences, will find the most complete coverage possible in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. It is published weekly by the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies appointed by the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Inquiries should be addressed to 1219 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

The history department of the University of Rochester has instituted a plan of training for the doctor's degree that it hopes will do two things: (1) emphasize the relation between student and teacher; (2) give actual supervised experience in college teaching. For the first year this will be in quiz sections and in the second year on the lecture platform. The latter experience means also training in the integration and interpretation of historical data. The number of students who will be accepted each year is limited to five and they will receive substantial fellowships. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

The Mediaeval Academy of America held its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Toronto on April 8-9, under the auspices of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The president of the Academy, Professor F. N. Robinson of Harvard University, presided at the sessions. The Haskins medal was awarded to Professor George Sarton of Harvard University for his *Science and Learning in the Fourteenth Century*. Officers elected, each for three years, were: Joseph Reese Strayer of Princeton University, second vice-president; John Nicholas Brown of Providence, treasurer; Joseph Thomas Muckle of the Pontifical Institute, Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin, Lessing Julius Rosenwald of Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, and Paul Joseph Sachs of Harvard University, councilors.

The Agricultural History Society held its annual meeting in Washington on September 13. The program was limited to a dinner followed by a business meeting and the presidential address by Professor John D. Hicks of the University of California at Berkeley. The subject of his address was "The Legacy of Populism in the Western Middle West." Professor Paul W. Gates of Cornell University was elected president for the ensuing year.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its regular spring meeting at Duke University on May 7. Among the papers read were "The Academy Movement in North Carolina," by Professor Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina, and "Queen's College, Queen's Museum, Liberty Hall, and Salisbury Academy," by Professor Archibald Henderson, also of the University of North Carolina.

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1949 was awarded

to Miss Ethel Drus for her essay on "The Attitude of the Colonial Office to the Annexation of Fiji."

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

M. L. W. Laistner, John Stambaugh professor of history in Cornell University, has been elected an honorary fellow of Jesus College at Cambridge University.

A. L. Burt of the University of Minnesota has been elected president of the Canadian Historical Association.

Fletcher M. Green, Kenan professor of history in the University of North Carolina, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures at Louisiana State University on April 26-28.

Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University has been granted a second leave of absence to continue as Harmsworth professor of American history in Oxford University.

Arthur J. Marder is on a year's leave of absence from the University of Hawaii to be visiting lecturer in history in Harvard University. He is taking over the courses of William L. Langer, who is still on leave.

John Hall Stewart, associate professor of history in Western Reserve University, has been granted leave of absence for the spring term, 1950, and has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to enable him to study abroad. He will spend most of his time in Dublin, investigating the effect of the French Revolution on Irish public opinion as revealed in the Irish newspapers of the time.

Walter Johnson has returned to his permanent post on the history faculty of the University of Chicago, following a year's work in the Manuscript Division of the University of Virginia Library, where he collaborated with Edward R. Stettinius, jr., in the preparation of a volume on the Yalta conference, which will be published this fall.

In Cornell University C. W. de Kiewiet has been named acting president; Carl Stephenson will be on sabbatical leave during the second term; Marc Szeftel is on leave of absence until September, 1950, and his place is being filled by Peter Christoff of Stanford University; Oscar T. Barck of Syracuse University will offer

courses in American history during the second term; and Knight Biggerstaff has returned from a sabbatical leave in China.

L. G. Vander Velde will be on sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan during the first semester of 1949-50. A. E. R. Boak will be acting chairman of the department during this semester. A. S. Aiton, of the same institution, will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester.

Bernadotte E. Schmitt has been appointed chief of the German War Documents Project of the Department of State in place of Raymond Sontag, who has returned to the University of California.

Sidney Warren, of the University of Florida, has accepted the visiting professorship of American history in the University of Durham, England, for the current academic year.

Harold T. Parker of the department of history of Duke University has been granted leave of absence for the current academic year to do research in the French archives.

Margaret Clapp, formerly assistant professor of history in Brooklyn College, has been appointed president of Wellesley College.

Anna M. Campbell, associate professor of history in New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University, has been retired to emeritus status after twenty-two years of service.

Anne Pannell, formerly associate professor of history in the University of Alabama, has accepted appointment as dean of faculty, Goucher College.

Hans Baron, formerly of the Institute for Advanced Study, has accepted a position on the staff of the Newberry Library in Chicago.

Ralph Volney Harlow is visiting professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles during the current academic year.

Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College has gone to the University of Wisconsin to be visiting professor of Latin-American history for a year.

Richard M. Dorson, associate professor of history in Michigan State College, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1949-50 for study of "English Folklore and Folklorists, 1860-1915."

New editorial appointments for the *Historian*, journal of the national honorary fraternity Phi Alpha Theta, include Gerald T. White of San Francisco State College as editor, replacing Earl S. Pomeroy of Ohio State University, and Austin E. Hutcheson of the University of Nevada as news editor, replacing James E. Swain of Muhlenberg College.

Robert F. Byrnes, assistant professor of history in Rutgers University, will again be on leave of absence in 1949-50 to be senior fellow of the Russian Institute of Columbia University.

Gerhart B. Ladner, of the University of Notre Dame, is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton during the current academic year.

At Northwestern University Leland H. Carlson has been granted a leave of absence during the winter and spring quarters of 1950 to carry on research in England, and Arthur S. Link, formerly of Princeton University, has been appointed associate professor of history.

The department of history in Princeton University announces the following appointments and promotions: Joseph Reese Strayer to be Dayton-Stockton professor of history; Elmore Harris Harbison to be Henry Charles Lea professor of history; Cyril Edwin Black and Theodor Ernst Mommsen promoted to associate professors; Jerome Blum promoted to assistant professor; and Robert A. Lively appointed instructor in history.

Sidney Walter Martin, professor of history, has been appointed dean of the college of arts and sciences in the University of Georgia. John Chalmers Vinson has been promoted to assistant professor of history, and C. Jay Smith and Wilbur D. Jones have been appointed instructors, also in the University of Georgia.

George Lee Haskins has been promoted to professor of law in the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

In the State College of Washington, C. O. Johnson is on leave of absence for the first semester, H. J. Wood has been promoted to professor of history and is acting chairman of the department during Dr. Johnson's absence, and Raymond Muse has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

William Curt Buthman, professor of history, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, has been named dean to succeed Thomas S. Staples, who will retire at the close of the academic year.

Tom B. Jones has been promoted to professor of history and Donald Beatty and John Bowditch to assistant professors of history in the University of Minnesota.

Karl August Wittfogel has been promoted to professor of Chinese history, and Scott H. Lytle, Thomas J. Pressly, and Donald Treadgold have been appointed assistant professors of history in the University of Washington.

Oscar Handlin has been promoted to associate professor of history in Harvard University.

Gilbert C. Fite has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Oklahoma.

Robert M. York has been promoted to associate professor of history and David W. Trafford to assistant professor of history in the University of Maine.

John A. Munroe has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Delaware.

Henry Cord Meyer has been promoted to associate professor of history in Pomona College.

William C. Askew has been promoted to associate professor of history in Colgate University.

In Oberlin College Howard Robinson has been granted a year's leave of absence, Charles Cremeans, formerly of Williams College, and Thomas Le Duc have been appointed associate professors of history, and William Orr has been appointed instructor in history.

C. M. Knapp, formerly of the University of Kentucky, has been appointed professor of history in Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

George Washington University announces the promotion of Roderic H. Davison to associate professor of history and the appointment of Richard C. Haskett, formerly of Princeton University, as assistant professor of history.

John P. Dyer has been promoted to associate professor of history in Tulane University.

The State University of Iowa has appointed four assistant professors of history:

James F. Gilliam, formerly of Wells College; Ralph W. Greenlaw, jr., formerly of Princeton University; Nicholas Valentine Riasanovsky; and Charles Gibson. In the same institution, Robert S. Hoyt has been granted a leave of absence, and Sylvia R. Thrupp, of the University of Chicago, is visiting professor of history during the current academic year.

Robert H. Irrmann has been promoted to associate professor of history in Beloit College.

Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, announces the appointment of Garnie W. McGinty, formerly of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, as acting president; John Duffy has been appointed associate professor of history and George Stokes assistant professor of history in the same institution.

Hans E. Hirsch, formerly of Elon College, has accepted an appointment as professor of history in the New York State Teachers College at Plattsburgh.

Joseph O. Baylen, formerly of the University of New Mexico, has been appointed associate professor of social science at Georgia State Teachers College, Collegeboro.

John F. Cady, formerly head of the department of history and dean of the college of liberal arts at Franklin College, Indiana, and recently Chief of the Research and Intelligence Branch for South Asia of the Department of State, has been appointed associate professor of history at Ohio University, Athens.

H. R. Jolliffe, formerly of Ohio State University, has joined the journalism department of Michigan State College.

Jay V. Groves has been appointed professor of history and the social sciences at Nebraska Central College, Central City.

Roland R. De Marco has been named dean of Finch Junior College.

D. D. Johnson, formerly of the State College of Washington, has accepted a position in the University of Hawaii.

Russell R. Elliott, formerly of the Southern Oregon College of Education, has been appointed assistant professor of history and political science in the University of Nevada.

Albert E. Van Dusen and Harry J. Marks are now assistant professors of his-

tory and Robert W. Lougee instructor in history in the University of Connecticut.

Richard O'Dell has accepted a position as assistant professor of history in the Northern Michigan College of Education at Marquette.

David L. Dowd of the University of Nebraska has accepted an assistant professorship in history at the University of Florida.

Frederick H. Jackson has been promoted to assistant professor of history in Marietta College, Ohio.

W. J. Hansen, formerly of the University of Mississippi and Purdue University, has accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at State Teachers College, Mankato, Minnesota.

Bernard S. Logan has accepted an assistant professorship of history in the University of Akron.

William P. Roberts, jr., has been appointed assistant professor of history in North Georgia College.

John L. Snell has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Wichita.

Roscoe L. Strickland has been appointed assistant professor of history in the East Tennessee State Teachers College.

Mary Frances Gyles has been appointed assistant professor of history in Memphis State College.

Fred A. Crane has been appointed instructor in history at Bard College.

Edward Hake Phillips has been appointed instructor in history at the Rice Institute.

J. Russell Major has been appointed instructor in history at Emory University.

Leslie W. Dunlap has resigned as assistant chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress to become librarian of the University of British Columbia, and Arthur R. Young, formerly of the National Archives, has been appointed assistant chief of the division.

Franklin L. Ford has accepted an appointment on the staff of Bennington College.

In Wake Forest College Henry S. Stroupe has been promoted to associate professor of history, and C. D. Yearns has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina announces the promotions of Bernice Draper and Vera Sargent to professors of history.

RECENT DEATHS

Walter Livingston Wright, jr., professor of Turkish language and history at Princeton University, died on May 16, 1949, just one day after his forty-ninth birthday. He had spent most of his life in the study of Near Eastern affairs and was a pioneer in the study of Turkish history in this country.

Following his graduation from Princeton in 1921 he spent four years teaching and studying at the American University of Beirut, where he received an M.A. in 1924. He returned to Princeton for further graduate study in 1925 and held a traveling fellowship for research in Turkey from 1928 to 1930. He took his Ph.D. in 1930 and was an assistant professor of history at Princeton from 1930 to 1935. During this period he published his book on *Ottoman Statecraft*, a translation with commentary of a sixteenth century treatise. In 1934 he was secretary and expert on Turkish affairs with the Hines-Kennerer Economic Mission to Turkey, and the following year he was elected president of Robert College and the American College for Girls at Istanbul. His tact, wisdom, and boundless energy carried these institutions successfully through the difficult years of the depression and the even more troubled period of the outbreak of the war. He gained the confidence and respect of Turkish officials and came to know the country as few Americans have done.

This knowledge of Turkish affairs was of great service to the United States during the war. He served as chief of the Near Eastern section of the Office of the Coordinator of Information, as chief historian of the War Department General Staff and as professor at the National War College.

His duties in this country forced him to give up the presidency of Robert College in 1944, though he retained his connection with the college by serving as chairman of its board of trustees. He was appointed professor of Turkish language and history at Princeton in 1946, and inaugurated a very successful program of undergraduate and graduate study of that country. At the time of his death he was preparing a book on modern Turkey which would have summed up his years of experience in Turkey. His influence on his colleagues, both at Princeton and elsewhere, was great, and his untimely death deprives the country of a leader in an important field of study.

John T. Ganoë of the department of history at the University of Oregon, died on April 28, 1949. He was born in Boone, Iowa, on December 8, 1900. He received the baccalaureate degree in 1923, and the master of arts degree in 1924, from the University of Oregon. From 1925 to 1927 he was assistant professor of history at Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma. In 1927 he was granted an assistantship at the University of Wisconsin, from which institution he received the doctorate in 1929. For one year he was assistant professor of history at Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia, and in 1930 he joined the faculty of the University of Oregon. His special fields were American constitutional history and recent American history. He was the author of several articles dealing with the history of conservation and reclamation, and just before his death had completed the manuscript for a volume on American constitutional history. He was a stimulating teacher and as a man was admired and respected by all who knew him.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I hope that you will be willing to print a few comments on the recent article in your *Review*, LIV (April, 1949), 530-47, "The Ancient Near East as History," by Burr C. Brundage.

It is welcome that this important field is being taken up so actively by one who, perhaps, comes to it relatively afresh, and welcome to have it represented in your pages. On the other hand, there are few departments of study so full of pitfalls, few where the historical picture changes so rapidly. Even so recent and valuable a survey and interpretation as that of W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), or the later *Light from the Ancient East* (3d edition, Princeton, 1947), by Jack Finegan, will not be complete or long up-to-date, since almost daily discoveries and publications change the picture, and while increasing our knowledge, increase also our problems. I am myself no expert in the field, but may perhaps suggest two weaknesses in Dr. Brundage's method. One who knew more would certainly, I suppose, be obliged to write at much greater length.

My first comment relates to Dr. Brundage's list of "civilizations" on pp. 532 f. I leave out of consideration the adjectives with which they are described. I think that I know what he means by them, though they are not, to my mind, particularly felicitous. Dr. Brundage, if I do understand him, feels that there were four "civilizations" in the Ancient Near East, in which term he would include the Libyans and the Sabaeans, as well as the Mycenaeans, but no one north of the Oxus or east of the Hindu-Kush, which four influenced and determined a large number of others, "absorptive" or "peripheral." These four were "Sumero-Semitic, Egyptian, Minoan, and Israelite." The other, the influenced, "civilizations," include some but by no means all of the peoples whom we know to have been in the area from time to time. My comment is, that this plan ignores chronology, and confuses civilization with "people," defining the last term as a group known to itself and to others by an ethnic name, and usually a linguistic and territorial, occasionally perhaps also a racial unit.

As to chronology, the Sumero-Semitic civilization is identifiable as such before

3000, and Egyptian at about the same time. On the other hand, there is little characteristic in Minoan civilization before the first half of the second millennium, while Israelite civilization can hardly be said to have existed as anything recognizable before the time of the judges, in the last century or so of that millennium. Thus the "competent civilizations" were not contemporary. As to the "absorptive" and "peripheral" civilizations, they belong to every period. The Elamites may be as old as the Sumerians. The Guteans appear six hundred years or so later, and the Kassites eight hundred years later still, with the Amorrites a few centuries earlier. The Hittites appear shortly after 2000, together with the Mycenaeans, being followed presently by the Hurrian-Haldians and the Aramaeans. There follow the Canaanites and the Phoenicians, and after a few hundred years, the Medo-Persians (and the Greeks, whom Dr. Brundage omits, for some reason), and the Lydians. Of Bactrians we hear nothing before the end of the sixth century B.C., of the Parthian kingdom nothing before the mid-third century, while the Sasanid Persians do not appear in history until the third century of the Christian era. To put all of these names together in a single undistinguishing list seems a little futile.

As to "civilization," there is no evidence advanced, and no evidence exists, to show that these groups are all distinct from the point of view of culture or civilization, or that they make up the "major" cultural groups of the area. Among the Iranians, Medes differed from Persians, and they from the Bactrians, but not more than they all did from the Soghdians, Arians, Arachosians, or even the Dahae or other more nomadic stocks, with whom the Parthians had strong connections. The Amorrites supplied a dynasty to Babylon, and were much more Sumerianized than the Assyrians, who are instead listed in the Sumero-Semitic group. Were the Israelites not Semitic? Was there, in the second millennium, a different civilization among the Minoans, the Mycenaeans, and the inhabitants of Cyclades? A curious feature of the list is the omission of such seemingly strong cultural influences as the Hyksos (to whom Winlock would now ascribe a vast influence on Egyptian civilization, whoever they may actually have been), the Philistines (Nordics straight down from the Lausitz areas with their iron armor and their chivalry) who gave their name to Palestine, and the Phrygians, who destroyed the Hittite kingdom and remained for centuries a great power in Asia Minor. It would be possible to go on, but it is unnecessary. Dr. Brundage's list is, in a word, useless and misleading.

My second comment relates to the discussion which follows the list. Dr. Brundage seems to regard the Ancient Near East as a kind of gravel pit, in which the pebbles wore each others' edges a little, but remained otherwise separate. A better figure would be to regard it as a pool, which received varying streams of water and absorbed them presently, learning something from each and teaching each much. We should start, perhaps, with 5000 B.C. or at least with 4000, because useful cultures existed that early which should not be overlooked, notably Halafian in northern Mesopotamia. With the arrival of the Sumerians and a system of writing, civilization was really started. There were exchanges from the beginning, for the "fragmentation" of the Near East is an invention of Dr. Brundage and does not correspond to the facts. There was a more-or-less unified cultural area existing as far back as the unification of Egypt, if we are to follow those who would ascribe to Eastern influence the Egyptian discovery of writing and of architecture. Thereafter come or continue to come the invasions, of which that of the Macedonians and Greeks with Alexander was only a late phase. Invaders came from the northeast, nomads from the steppe, bringing the horse, the chariot, the compound bow, the idea of great rectangular fortifications, and other matters, in-

cluding religious ones; they came from the great central steppe of the Beduin Semites, Amorrites, Aramaeans, Canaanites, Israelites; they came from the north, from Central Europe, "Dorian" Greeks, Phrygians, Philistines, and others who went to the west directly or indirectly (Sardinians, Villanovans). Later they were to come from the west, Greeks and Romans. All contributed, all took. Local differences always existed, and people spoke various languages and wrote in various scripts. But to emphasize the differences, especially without defining them, and to ignore the great historical process which was to form our Western civilization and to continue forming as long as history shall last, is to miss the supremely interesting spectacle of all human experience.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884

Chartered by Congress in 1889

Principal Office

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNEX, STUDY ROOM 274, Washington 25, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1948: 5252. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the Annual Report, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship*, awarded annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The *James Hazen Hyde Prize* of \$1,000 awarded for the best study on any phase of Franco-American relations or French political history in the nineteenth century.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded triennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (last award: December, 1948).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$5.00. Life membership is \$100. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.



Four Books by CARL BECKER

Of Carl Becker as a writer Charles Beard once said that he was "one of the few historians of his generation acquainted with the English language and able to write anything likely to live far beyond its birthday." Here are four of Becker's most penetrating works, all of them distinguished for their ironic calm, their discarding of dogmas, and their quiet eloquence in reopening fundamental debates. Here are four books which have long been recognized as lasting sources of intellectual pleasure and inspiration for the mature scholar, the young historian, and the student of history.

Progress and Power

A brilliant analytical study of the interaction between man's intelligence and the instruments of his power. A reissue of an earlier publication long out of print, this book reveals Becker's historical method and philosophy. With an introductory essay by Leo Gershoy, New York University.

Just published; xliii + 116 pages; \$2.50 net, 1.85 text

Freedom and Responsibility

In the American Way of Life

Becker's learning, acute observation, and independent thought are forcibly demonstrated in this highly topical discussion of the American political tradition, the various aspects of freedom, and the nature of constitutional government and of private economic enterprise. With an introductory essay by George L. Sabine, Cornell University.

1945; xvii + 122 + iv pages; \$2.50 net, 1.90 text

How New Will the Better World Be?

A lucid discussion of postwar reconstruction, in which Becker examines the political and economic realities of our time and their effect on plans for world peace.

1944; vii + 246 + v pages; \$2.50 net, 1.85 text

The Declaration of Independence

First published in 1922, this book, the finest study ever made of America's most important political document, has been reissued with a new introduction by the author.

1942; xvii + 286 pages; \$3.00 net, 2.25 text

Examination copies on request

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

NEW YORK 22



*An important contribution
to the history of
colonial thought and religion*

The FORMING OF AN AMERICAN TRADITION

A RE-EXAMINATION OF COLONIAL PROTESTANTISM

By L. J. Trinterud

- This authoritative historical study sheds new light on the formative period of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Thorough research into original sources, which have never before been adequately utilized, has led the author to a new and surprising appraisal of the origins of American Protestantism.

The author is Associate Professor of Church History at McCormick Theological Seminary.

Just published. 364 pages, \$6.50



At all bookstores
THE WESTMINSTER PRESS
Philadelphia.

Select Problems in Historical Interpretation

For European History

I. IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

IN EUROPEAN HISTORY, 800-1715

T. C. Mendenhall, B. D. Henning, and A. S. Foord, *Yale University*
1948, 369 pages, \$2.75

"I am most enthusiastic about this collection of materials, for it is well selected and edited."
—Harold J. Grimm, *The Ohio State University*

Carcassonne and Chartres (illustrations) net \$15.00
The Palace of Versailles (illustrations) net \$15.00

II. THE QUEST FOR A PRINCIPLE

OF AUTHORITY IN EUROPE, 1715-Present

T. C. Mendenhall, B. D. Henning, and A. S. Foord, *Yale University*,
with the collaboration of Leonard Krieger and G. A. Craig
1948, 376 pages, \$2.75

"... the Mendenhall books ... made a very good impression on me indeed. They seem to be by all odds the most unified and effective collections of what used to be called 'source materials.'"
—Crane Brinton, *Harvard University*

For American History

I. NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM

IN AMERICA, 1775-1877

D. M. Potter and T. G. Manning, *Yale University*
1949, 362 pages, \$2.75

"... I know of no other source collection that offers the same intellectual stimulus, or that would give the student such a fine chance to use objective judgments in reaching his own conclusions. To teach American history through such a method would be an exciting new experience to all of us—and of the greatest benefit to the students."
—Ray A. Billington, *Northwestern University*

II. GOVERNMENT AND THE

AMERICAN ECONOMY, 1870-Present

T. G. Manning, D. M. Potter, and W. E. Davies, *Yale University*
To be published Late Fall 1949, approximately 420 pages, probable price \$2.75



HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

Select Problems in Historical Interpretation

For English History—Just Published

CRISES IN ENGLISH HISTORY, 1066-1945

B. D. Henning and A. S. Foord, *Yale University*, and B. L. Mathias

1949, 571 pages, \$3.80

"It is an admirable work and the authors of it are to be congratulated upon a four-star performance. . . . The astute and skillful selection of source materials and the precise and clear introductory notes I found a special cause for congratulation."

—Goldwin Smith, *Wayne University*

"No teacher can fail to be gratified by the application to English history of this intelligent method of presenting the problems of historical writing, the nature of many important sources, and detailed pictures of a number of events of truly crucial importance."

—J. Harry Bennett, Jr., *University of Texas*

Manuals of Suggestions for Teachers are available for each volume in this Series.

A new one-volume text in American History

The United States:

From Wilderness to World Power

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW

1949, 854 pages, \$5.50

"Professor Harlow's new book is an admirable survey of the American past. Despite its relatively short length, the volume is remarkably comprehensive, with considerable attention given to often-neglected social and intellectual currents. This well-written text will undoubtedly be accepted widely as basic reading in survey courses."

—Francis G. Walett, *Boston University*

"This text solves the new need—a complete work in American History in one volume. It is concise, alive, and well written."—James J. Flynn, *Fordham University*

"This text of Harlow—brief, succinct, and with well-chosen maps and illustrative material—is one of the very best single-volume texts in American history that I have seen."

—B. M. Hermann, *The Pennsylvania State College*

"This is an excellent treatise of American history and is especially strong on aspects of constitutional and social development. I find this a handsome, compact, and well-organized textbook, well illustrated and adequately furnished with many maps. The general bibliography at the end of the volume should be extremely helpful to the student."

—Anthony L. Milnar, *Loyola University*

257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10





*A distinguished biography of
commanding interest and basic importance*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

and the Foundations of American
Foreign Policy

by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

*Sterling Professor of Diplomatic History
and Inter-American Relations at Yale University*

This masterly biography of the greatest of the Adamses, to the eve of his election to the Presidency, emphasizes his formative influence on American foreign policy and shows with much enlightening and enlivening detail how he, more than any other man, shaped the fundamentals which became the basis for our diplomacy and which still remain our guiding principles.

■ Professor Bemis has brought to life not only John Quincy Adams the diplomatist, but also John Quincy Adams the man of many talents.

*With six illustrations and seven maps, 640 pages.
Typography and binding design by W. A. Dwiggins.*

\$7.50 wherever books are sold

ALFRED · A · KNOPF, PUBLISHER



*"It will be in the future one of the
essential books on its topic."*

—JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

**THE GREAT WAR
FOR THE EMPIRE:
THE VICTORIOUS YEARS,
1758-1760**

by **LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON**
Professor of History, Lehigh University

☞ This seventh volume of Professor Gipson's great history, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, covers the period known in its American phase as the French and Indian War. It recounts the reversal of English fortunes in North America beginning with the accession to power of William Pitt and ending with the downfall of the French in eastern America. Filled with significant and painstakingly gathered facts of interest to historians and laymen alike.

Illustrated and with 28 maps, 551 pages.

Typography and binding design by W. A. Dwiggins.

\$7.50 wherever books are sold

ALFRED A. KNOPF PUBLISHER

WAR AND PEACE AIMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

edited by LOUISE HOLBORN

This two volume reference series records the growth of the war and peace aims of the United Nations from the outbreak of World War II to the defeat of the Axis and traces the evolution of post-war policy. It contains the official documents, declarations by statesmen and statements of political party leaders.

Volume I: 1939-1942

Introduction by HAJO HOLBORN

"... a well-organized and, for a documentary compilation, a decidedly interesting book."

—*American Foreign Service Journal*.

"... the Editor of this volume can be congratulated on having performed excellently a task well worth the doing. . . . The prefatory note on political development and the war chronology heading the section for each nation deserve special praise . . ."

—*The Journal of Politics*.
\$2.50

Volume II: 1943-1945

Introduction by SIDNEY B. FAY

"No attempt is made to evaluate the decisions—to place praise and blame—but the careful reader will be able to draw his own conclusions . . ."

—*The Christian Advocate*.

"The volume brings together material which . . . is relatively inaccessible. . . . The selection is discriminating but very inclusive, and the editing is admirable."

—*U. S. Quarterly Book List*.
\$6.00

At all bookstores

Volumes I and II, \$7.50

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street

Boston

**Monroe's Defense
of
Jefferson
and
Freneau**

The best answer to Hamilton's 1792 attacks, by Monroe, assisted by Madison. Introduction and Index. 56 pages. Postpaid, net, \$1.50. Edited and published by

Philip Marsh
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

**BUILD UP YOUR HISTORY LIBRARY
AT LESS THAN HALF PRICE . . .**

Over 5000 history-minded persons regularly receive our FREE money-saving catalogs. We invite you to join our mailing list to receive announcements of books like LINCOLN AND THE WIDOW BIXBY (regularly \$3.00; our price, 98¢), THE TWO CITIES (reg. \$10.00; our price, \$4.95), LINCOLN-LIBERAL STATESMAN (reg. \$4.50; our price, \$2.49), JEFFERSON—WAR AND PEACE (reg. \$6.00; our price, \$2.49), REVEILLE IN WASHINGTON (originally \$3.50; our price for repr. ed., 98¢). Beard's THE ENDURING FEDERALIST (reg. \$5.00; our price, \$1.98), LAST DAYS OF HITLER (reg. \$3.00; our price, \$1.49).

Send your name and address today for free catalogs. Order above books direct, adding 7¢ postage per copy. 10-day cash-back guarantee. DOVER PUBLICATIONS, 1780 B'way, N. Y. 19 Dept. AHR.

The Department of State

A HISTORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION, PROCEDURE, AND PERSONNEL

By GRAHAM H. STUART

No such thorough and reliable study of the organization of the Department of State has previously existed. It gives an over-all picture of the work of the Department, the personalities and contributions of its chiefs, from Jefferson to Marshall, and its ever-increasing role in the affairs of our country and of the world. The author is Professor of Political Science at Stanford University.

\$7.50

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

A NEW COLLECTION OF READINGS, from a wide variety of sources, presenting varying points of view on some of the controversial issues in our history . . .

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

COMPILED BY THE AMERICAN STUDIES
STAFF OF AMHERST COLLEGE

Edited by EARL LATHAM, GEORGE ROGERS
TAYLOR, *and* GEORGE F. WHICHER

Eight of the most hotly debated issues in our national life have been chosen as the subject matter of these eight books of spirited readings. Here is controversy of a high order, demonstrating to students the necessity for the searching, considering, independent mind.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION
THE TURNER THESIS CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY

JACKSON VERSUS BIDDLE—THE STRUGGLE OVER THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

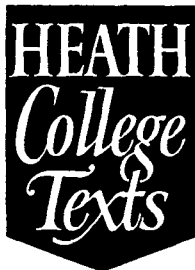
THE TRANSCENDENTALIST REVOLT AGAINST MATERIALISM
SLAVERY AS A CAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR

DEMOCRACY AND THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER—ROBBER BARON OR INDUSTRIAL STATESMAN?

THE NEW DEAL—REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION?

About 125 pages each. \$1.00 per volume



D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO ATLANTA
SAN FRANCISCO DALLAS LONDON

art and life in America

By OLIVER W. LARKIN
Professor of Art, Smith College

A new and tremendously exciting history of America, told in terms of architecture, painting, sculpture, and the minor arts.

This beautiful book, with over 400 carefully selected illustrations, is more than just an historical account of the growth of American art. It is an interpretation of a way of life—of the growth of democracy in a free country—by a nation's most sensitive spokesmen.

The book is chronologically divided into periods, beginning with the first colonial settlements, and concentrates upon the important art developments of each major era up to the present time. Introductions to the various periods emphasize the relationship between the visual arts and the social, cultural, and intellectual milieu of the time. The text also examines the primary influences from abroad and the various regional folk arts in America.

576 pages, 417 illustrations, 8" × 11", \$6.00 (text ed.)

If you would like to examine a copy for text consideration for a course in American Art, American Civilization, or American Social and Intellectual History, please write us.

RINEHART & COMPANY, INC.
232 Madison Ave., New York 16

Distinctive McGRAW-HILL Books

JAPAN SINCE PERRY

By CHITOSHI YANAGA, Yale University. *McGraw-Hill Series in History*. 700 pages, \$6.00

Gives a well-balanced account of the emergence of Japan as a modern power during the last 100 years in a simple and clear narrative of the important events and personalities in the political, social, economic, and intellectual development of the nation. This text will provide the necessary background for the understanding of Japan's rise to power and the forces which were at work to bring on the Pacific War.

**LIBERALISM AND THE CHALLENGE OF FASCISM.
Social Forces in England and France (1815-1870)**

By J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, College of the City of New York. *McGraw-Hill Series in History*. 420 pages, \$5.00

Seeks to acquaint the student with the meaning of liberalism as a way of public life. This work deals with the successes and failures of the liberal movement in the past and analyzes its significance in the present world situation. An original contribution is the discussion of origins of fascism. The book is a synthesis of theory and practice, presenting new interpretations of famous thinkers, and relating their ideas to the forces, classes, and systems that appeared with the Industrial Revolution.

**THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD HISTORY. From Its
Beginnings to World Leadership**

By JOHN B. RAE and THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *McGraw-Hill Series in History*. 781 pages, \$5.00

Presents the development of the United States as part of a general world society, tracing its growth from the colonial foundations to its present position of world leadership. The interrelationship is stressed between the United States and the rest of the world in respect to political, economic, social, and intellectual forces.

**BIG GOVERNMENT. The Meaning and Purpose of the
Hoover Commission Report**

By FRANK GERVASI. 350 pages, \$4.00

Here is a thorough and readable analysis and interpretation of the recent findings of the Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. The book delineates the problems involved and offers solutions. This work should prove valuable to businessmen, journalists, and interested citizens in every walk of life.

Send for copies on approval

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, Inc.
330 West 42nd Street **New York 18, N. Y.**

VAN NOSTRAND FOR COLLEGE TEXTS



Just Published in Two Volumes

WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Volume I. Antiquity to 1660

By JOHN J. VAN NOSTRAND,
and PAUL B. SCHAEFFER,
Both of The University of California

DESIGNED as a Freshman college text for one semester, three hours per week. Van Nostrand has written the section from Antiquity to The Fall of The Roman Empire. Schaeffer has handled the Mediaeval Period up to and including the Counter Reformation. An easily readable format which features marginal headings for aid in study, review, and reference.

544 pp. 60 Illustrations 36 Maps Rugged Cloth \$4.75

Volume II - Western Civilization - Since 1660

By FRANKLIN C. PALM, University of California

COVERS the period from 1660 to the present with the political, social and cultural developments of our modern, bourgeois society as its major theme. Emphasis is given period from 1870 on, since the new order has experienced greatest changes during these years. THEREFORE, THIS VOLUME II can be used, either for general courses covering Western civilization, or for more restricted courses dealing with the 19th and 20th centuries.

697 pp. 109 Illustrations
6 x 9 Rugged Cloth 31 maps (some in color) \$4.75

INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

By IVAR SPECTOR, University of Washington, Seattle

The MOST INTERESTING FEATURE OF THE BOOK is the way the history of Russian culture is integrated with formal Russian history. For instance—in this text, sections on Russian literature and music run parallel to the formal history—and as much emphasis is placed on Dostoyevsky, who moulded the thought of the Russian people, as on Peter the Great, who laid the foundations for the Russian Empire and its expansion. To our knowledge, this is the first Russian history of its kind.

454 pp. 6¼ x 9¼ Cloth Illustrated Many Maps
College Text Edition, \$4.50

WRITE FOR ON-APPROVAL EXAMINATION COPIES TODAY



D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS SINCE 1848
250 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Recent and forthcoming texts

HISTORY OF EUROPE

By Hayes, Baldwin & Cole

This new work provides a comprehensive survey of European history in all its important aspects. The major portion of the book deals with the evolution of modern Europe, stressing economic, cultural and social history as well as political, diplomatic and military events.

ONE-VOLUME EDITION—\$5.00

TWO-VOLUME EDITION—I. To 1648, II. Since 1648—\$3.60 each

A HISTORY OF THE OLD SOUTH

By Clement Eaton

In this new work the author has brought together the results of research that has been in progress for a generation, and to which he is a notable contributor. The region is presented against the national picture, but is also adequately treated as a distinct section with unique features of its own. *To be published in November.*

PATHS TO THE PRESENT

By Arthur M. Schlesinger

One of this country's foremost historians here provides a fresh look at American history that will appeal to all students. Turning his attention to the usable past, Schlesinger writes of the historical trends which help to explain the modern American and his country. \$3.00

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By Hans Kohn

This new book by the author of *The Idea of Nationalism* is a splendid guide for understanding our times and our civilization. To make clear the challenge to Western civilization, Kohn gives a history and analysis of the ideas now having the most force: nationalism and pacifism, racialism and imperialism, communism and fascism, individualism and collectivism, isolationism and world order. \$2.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

<i>Aubry</i> , DIE FRANZÖSISCHE REVOLUTION, Vol. I, by John Hall Stewart	118
<i>Rogers</i> , THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION IN 1789, by Beatrice F. Hyslop	119
<i>Geyl</i> , NAPOLEON: FOR AND AGAINST, by H. Stuart Hughes	121
<i>Pratt</i> , THE EMPIRE AND THE GLORY, by George Matthew Dutcher	122
<i>Lemaitre</i> , BEAUMARCHAIS, by Richard M. Brace	124
<i>Tarle</i> , TALLEYRAND [in Russian], by D. Fedotoff White	125
<i>François-Poncet</i> , THE FATEFUL YEARS, by James S. Beddie	126
<i>Mauvois</i> , THE MIRACLE OF FRANCE, by Louis Gottschalk	127
<i>Bloch and Renouvin</i> , GUIDE DE L'ÉTUDIANT EN HISTOIRE MODERNE ET CON- TEMPORAINÉ, by Sherman Kent	129
<i>Cadbury</i> , GEORGE FOSS'S "BOOK OF MIRACLES," by Bliss Forbush	130
<i>Bolitho</i> , THE BRITISH EMPIRE, by Howard Robinson	131
<i>Hole</i> , ENGLISH SPORTS AND PASTIMES, by Chester H. Kirby	132
<i>Aspinall</i> , POLITICS AND THE PRESS, c. 1780-1850, by W. O. Aydelotte	133
<i>Aspinall</i> , THE EARLY ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS, by Harry W. Laidler	134
<i>Parkinson</i> , THE TRADE WINDS: A STUDY OF BRITISH OVERSEAS TRADE DUR- ING THE FRENCH WARS, 1793-1815, by Abbott Payson Usher	136
<i>Langsam</i> , FRANCIS THE GOOD, by Sidney B. Fay	138
<i>Wiskemann</i> , THE ROME-BERLIN AXIS, by Raymond J. Sontag	139
<i>Ascoli</i> , THE FALL OF MUSSOLINI, by Gaudens Megaro	140
<i>Kerner</i> , YUGOSLAVIA, by Robert Lee Wolff	142
<i>Towster</i> , POLITICAL POWER IN THE U.S.S.R., 1917-47, by William B. Ballis	143

Far Eastern History

<i>Creel</i> , CONFUCIUS: THE MAN AND THE MYTH, by Arthur W. Hummel	145
<i>Eberhard</i> , CHINAS GESCHICHTE, by R. D. Jameson	146
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1932, Vols. III, IV, THE FAR EAST, by Kenneth Colegrove	147

American History

<i>Farrand</i> , BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S MEMOIRS and THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, by William E. Lingelbach	149
<i>Gordon</i> , AESCULAPIUS COMES TO THE COLONIES, by L. H. Butterfield	151
<i>Knight</i> , A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE 1860, Vol. I, EUROPEAN INHERITANCES, by John E. Pomfret	152
<i>Bridenbaugh</i> , PETER HARRISON, by Turpin C. Bannister	153
<i>Tolles</i> , MEETING HOUSE AND COUNTING HOUSE, by Frank Aydelotte	155
<i>Williams</i> , THE ANIMATING PURSUITS OF SPECULATION, by Eugene C. Barker	157
<i>Hanna</i> , FLORIDA, LAND OF CHANGE, by R. S. Cotterill	158
<i>Freidel</i> , FRANCIS LIEBER, NINETEENTH CENTURY LIBERAL, by Wilfred E. Binkley	160
<i>Wiltse</i> , JOHN C. CALHOUN, NULLIFIER, 1829-39, by C. S. Boucher	161
<i>Nye</i> , FETTERED FREEDOM, by Louis Filler	162
<i>Gosnell</i> , GUNS ON THE WESTERN WATERS, by Jim Dan Hill	164
<i>Knowlton</i> , PEPPERELL'S PROGRESS, by James B. Hedges	165
<i>Freudenthal</i> , FLIGHT INTO HISTORY, by Alexander Klemm	166
<i>Allen</i> , THE GREAT PIERPONT MORGAN, by Thomas C. Cochran	167
<i>Sherwood</i> , ROOSEVELT AND HOPKINS, by Henry F. Pringle	169
<i>Stauffer, et al.</i> , THE AMERICAN SOLDIER, Vols. I, II, by Glenn L. McConagha	171
<i>Hanke</i> , THE SPANISH STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN THE CONQUEST OF AMER- ICA, by Irving A. Leonard	172
<i>Howe</i> , THE MINING GUILD OF NEW SPAIN AND ITS TRIBUNAL GENERAL, 1770-1821, by C. L. Van Duzer	174
<i>Masur</i> , SIMON BOLIVAR, by C. H. Haring	175
<i>Warren</i> , PARAGUAY: AN INFORMAL HISTORY, by Roland Dennis Hussey	177
<i>Barker</i> , LETTERS OF DR. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN WRITTEN AT FORT VANCOUVER, 1829-32, by W. Kaye Lamb	179

Other Recent Publications

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES	181
------------------------------------	-----

This journal is unable as a rule to review textbooks and works of current discussion.

THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

A "basic document of World War II"

An Army in Exile

By GENERAL W. ANDERS

Of great importance historically, this is the story of the exiled Polish Second Army Corps and their heroic leader, General Anders. That gallant legion which fought mightily through the war and achieved glory at Monte Cassino, found only bitter defeat in victory. Acutely sensitive to their country's fate, these heroes were forced to witness the tragedy of Poland—given over to Russia by the Allies as one of the spoils of war.

Here is what the critics say about *An Army in Exile*...

"This book belongs with the basic documents of World War II. It is time that General Anders told the full story of that savagely efficient Polish Second Corps. . . ."—Eric Sevareid in *The New York Times Book Review*

"It is one of the most remarkable personal histories of World War II. . . . General Anders' tragic story is written with simplicity, frankness and dignity."—*Time Magazine*

"An important contribution to our understanding of Soviet Russia. It should be read by everyone who looks for enlightenment as to the methods and aims of Soviet policy."—*America*

"An extremely well written, tense drama, and a story which drives home Russian perfidy with far greater impact than any work of the season."—*San Francisco Chronicle*

"We should know the price paid by others for our own uneasy peace."—*London Observer*

Illustrated

\$5.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY